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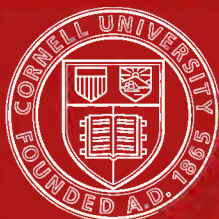
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ON THE
SENTENCE-QUESTION
IN
PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

BY
E. P. MORRIS

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ON THE SENTENCE-QUESTION IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

INTRODUCTORY.

The most complete discussions of the interrogative sentence in Latin are by Holtze, *Synt. Prisc. Script. Lat.* II 236-285, and Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.* II 989-1024. They begin with the distinction between direct and indirect questions; on this subject Becker has now said all that is needful.¹ Sentence-questions are divided by Holtze and Kühner according to the particle that introduces them, into sentences without a particle and sentences with *ne, nonne, num, utrum, an*. Under each head are classed the idiomatic uses, e. g. under *ne, itane, ain tu, satin, scin quomodo*, etc. These cover the special cases; for the commoner kinds of *ne* question Holtze makes no classification. Kühner employs the three-fold division into questions for information, questions expecting an affirmative answer, and questions expecting a negative answer. Questions without a particle are divided according to the presence or absence of emotion.

This system of arrangement is open to serious criticism. The tests which it relies upon to distinguish emotional from unemotional questions are entirely inadequate; written language has few

¹ *Syntaxis Interrog. Obliq.* in Studemund, *Studien*, I pp. 115-316. As the semi-indirect questions are in form and meaning exactly like direct questions, and as I have wished to include everything which would throw light upon the nature of the interrogative sentence, I have given in my lists many questions which will also be found in Becker.

signs for emotion. And even the arrangement of questions according to the answer expected is too narrow and at times actually misleading. See below the synopsis of the classification of questions according to their function, proposed by Th. Imme. The study of phrases with a view to discovering their functions should be the last step, not the first, in the inductive process. Further, Holtze and Kühner have used at the same time two systems of classification which are really distinct. Holtze, for instance, divides questions without a particle into (*a*) questions for information, (*b*) questions expressing emotion, (*c*) questions equivalent to an imperative, (*d*) *non* questions, (*e*) infinitive questions, etc., mixing form and function in entire confusion. Such a sentence as *non taces?* would come under *b*, *c* and *d*.

It was, I suppose, partly a perception of the illogical and confusing character of Holtze's system which led Draeger, I² 333-351, to adopt a more reserved and simple classification. Under *ne*, for instance, he gives only a general statement of the meaning of the particle, and then treats the words to which it is appended. Questions without a particle, however, he classifies according to the presence or absence of emotion.

The treatment of the interrogative sentence in the Stolz-Schmalz Grammar, pp. 298-300, is necessarily brief, but is noteworthy as making no reference to the three-fold division according to the answer expected, nor to the presence or absence of emotion. Except for a brief paragraph on disapproving (*missbilligende*) questions, the discussion deals wholly with the form, and not with the meaning, of the interrogative sentence.

Concerning the other discussions of interrogative sentences nothing need be said at this point, since their arrangement is in the main that of Draeger or Kühner.¹

The history of the study of direct questions, therefore, since 1843, when Holtze issued his first program on the subject, shows a gradual abandonment of the confusing system of classification according to function, doubtless largely owing to the general

¹ P. Schrader, de particularum *-Ne, Anne, Nonne* apud Plantum prosodia Argent., 1885.—O. Wolff, de enuntiatis interrogativis apud Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium. Halle, 1883.—P. Olbricht, de interrogationibus disiunctivis et *an* particulae usu apud Tacitum. Halle, 1883.—A. Grabenstein, de interrogationum enuntiativarum usu Horatiano. Halle, 1883.—C. Naegler, de particularum usu apud L. Annaeum Senecam philosophum. Halle, 1883.—W. O. Gutsche, de interrogationibus obliquis apud Ciceronem. Halle, 1885. Also Reisig-Haase, III pp. 299-314, with Landgraf's notes.

acceptance of the principles and methods of historical philology. Nothing, however, has been done toward the substitution of a better system. The whole subject has been reduced, as in the work of Schmalz, to a study of the particles, little attention being paid to the wide differences produced by variations in the structure of the sentence.

In the following pages the attempt will be made to reach a fuller understanding of the common forms of the interrogation by carrying the analysis of the structure as far as possible, even at the risk of unnecessary subdivision, in the belief that such a course will in the end lead to the surest results. For convenience, questions with a particle have been taken up first; in treating questions without a particle, it is impossible to adhere strictly to the formal analysis, for reasons which will be stated, and some confusion will be found at that point.

It was at first my intention to include some special varieties of the *quis* question (*quis est qui*, *quid ais?* || *quid vis?* *quid* in repetitions, *quid si*, *quid ni*) for which I have a collection of examples. But these, as well as a large number of examples from Ribbeck's *Fragmenta*, I have found it necessary to omit.

The great length to which this paper has extended itself is also my excuse for printing so few illustrations. Those which are given are selected as typical cases, and I have tried to notice briefly passages in which textual variations affect the form of the question, and all cases which for any reason seemed deserving of special notice. The lists are intended to be complete except where the contrary is expressly stated; that there should be no errors in the collection of 3000 cases is scarcely to be hoped, but I do not think they can be numerous.

I. QUESTIONS WITH *-ne*.¹

A. *Ne* appended to the verb.

Arranged according to the mood, tense and person of the verb.
sumne. Merc. 588, *sumne ego homo miser, qui nusquam bene queo quiescere?* Men. 852, Most. 362, Rud. 1184, Pers. 75, 474. All have a predicate adj., with a relative clause in the indicative, *ego* is expressed except in Pers. 474, and all are used in soliloquy. Similar to these are Bacch. 623, *sumne ego homo miser? perdidisti*

¹ Disjunctive and infinitive questions with *ne* are not included in these lists, but will be given separately.

me ac simitu operam Chrysalis, and *Cas. II 4, 24*, except that the secondary idea, explaining the main clause, is expressed in an independent sentence. Also in *Ps. 908*, *sumne ego homo insipiens, qui egomet mecum haec loquar solus?* the sentence is similar in every respect, except the mood of *loquar*. For this *Cam.* suggested *loquor* (*Rit. "fortasse recte"*), which brings this case into line with the rest.

Mil. 1345, *perii. sumne ego apud me?* and *Rud. 865*, *sumne ibi?* are different. They have no descriptive adj. and no concluding clause, and are not in soliloquy. *Bacch. 91*, *sumne autem nihili, qui nequeam ingenio moderari meo?* at first sight invites a change to *nequeo*, but it is unlike the other sentences in sense as well as in form, since it does not refer in the relative clause to an evident fact, as do the rest. The sense is "Am I so far gone that I can't control myself?" Pl. 12, Ter. o.

In all the questions in soliloquy, as well as in *Rud. 865*, *sumne* has the effect of *nonne sum*; cf. *Lor.* on *Ps. 908* (885 L). The cases in which *ne* produces the effect of *nonne* will be brought together later, but it may be remarked here that when *sumne* is used in soliloquy with a relative clause, the clause in all cases virtually answers the question in the affirmative. "Am I a fool? I'm bothering about politics when there are people enough to attend to them." "Am I born to bad luck? I am standing here when I ought to be running home at my best pace." So in *Rud. 865*, *dixeram praesto fore apud Veneris fanum: . . . sumne ibi?* the speaker was obviously on the spot, and when he asks "Am I there?" there is only one answer possible. It is therefore nothing in the form of question which requires an affirmative answer and produces the *nonne* effect; it is the fact stated in the relative clause, or, in *Rud. 865*, shown by the surroundings on the stage.

Other verbs with present sense are *habeon*, *St. 566*, *Trin. 500*, in the phrase *habeon (rem) pactam?* cf. *Poen. 1157*. These are formal questions for the conclusion of a bargain, and are asked as if for information.

vincon. *Amph. 433*, *quid nunc? vincon argumentis, te non esse Sosiam?* has the effect of *nonne*, because the speaker thinks he is proving his point.

repeton. *Ad. 136*, *irascere? || an non credis? repeton quem dedi?* Here *num* might have been used, but, as the answer is obviously in the negative, the *-ne* question produces the same effect. This case is noteworthy as helping to explain the *ne = nonne* cases.

possumne. Eun. 712, *possumne ego hodie ex te exculpere verum? vidistin . . .?* Here also there is a shade of *nonne* effect. The speaker realizes that the slave does not want to tell the truth, but is determined to get it out of him. "Can't I force the truth out of you?"

videon. Epid. 635, *satin ego oculis utilitatem optineo sincere an parum? videon ego Telestidem te, . . .?* Aul. 813 [*video* BDE, Goetz], St. 582, Eun. 724, Hec. 81, Ph. 50, 177. These are all addressed by the speaker to himself when a new character comes upon the stage, and are really meant as a kind of introduction to the audience. *teneone*, Heaut. 407, is used with the same general effect as *videon*.

Cas. III 5, 46 is best taken as a declarative sentence. Asin. 504 is given under *an*. Pl. 6, Ter. 7.

It is important to notice how few of these, really only the two with *habeon*, have the effect of simple unemotional questions. This is not because anything in the nature of the present tense or of *ne* is emotional or inclines toward a negative, but because questions as to what the speaker is himself doing must, in the nature of the case, have an obvious answer, which seems to give the question itself a leaning toward the affirmative or the negative.

The present indicative is also used with future effect. See Lor. Most.² 774, Brix Trin.³ 1062, Madvig, Opusc. II 40, Gram. 339, obs. 2. The commonest form is *quid ago?* See Lor. on Most.² 368. Most. 774, *eon? voco huc hominem? || i, voca*. Asin. 755, Mil. 1036 (MSS *voco*), Andr. 315, 497, Eun. 434. These are answered by the imperative, if at all, but are not otherwise peculiar. Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

It will be noticed that except *sumne*, which is peculiar to Pl., the first person pres. is used more frequently by Ter. than by Pl.

Indicative present, second person. *abin*. Amph. 857, *abin hinc a me, dignus domino servus? || abeo, si iubes*. Amph. 518, Bacch. 1168, 1176, Cas. II 4, 23, Merc. 756, Most. 850, Pers. 671, Poen. 160, Trin. 456, 989, Andr. 317, Eun. 861. Rud. 977, Sch., is unlikely; *abin* without *hinc*, *a me* or *diirectus* is literal, Pers. 671. Pl. 11, Ter. 2.

A distinct imperative force is shown by the answer *si iubes* in Amph. 857, as well as by the general sense. That the sense of a pres. indic. and the questioning effect are not wholly lost is shown by *abin atque argentum petis?* Pers. 671, and by *abin an non? || abeo*, Aul. 660. The full consideration of these imperative ques-

tions must be reserved until all the forms have been examined separately; in the case of *abin* it is evident that a mere hint, such as the question conveys, would be equivalent to an order.

accipin. Pers. 412, *accipin argentum? accipe sis argentum, impudens?* With imperative effect, in the midst of other forms of command.

ain (*aisne*). Brief note in Langen, Beitr. p. 119.

(a). With dependent infinitive, Epid. 717, (*ego*) *quoniam opera . . . inventast filia*. || *Ain tu te illius invenisse filiam?* || *inveni* . . . Amph. 799, Aul. 186, Asin. 851, Most. 964, 974, Poen. 961, Truc. 194, Hec. 415, Ad. 517. In Truc. 306 Schoell writes . . . *lateres si veteres ruunt*. || *Ain tu vero? veteres lateres ruere?* but, though the sense is not quite perfect as one question, there is no instance in Pl. where the infin. stands in a separate sentence after *ain*, nor could the indic. be repeated in an infin. I am inclined to think that the mark after *vero* should be omitted. Pl. 9, Ter. 2.

In these cases the infin. is repeated from a preceding statement. The full logical form of the question would be, "Do you (now) say that so-and-so is the case (as you did a moment ago)?" In the least emotional uses, therefore, the question is answered by *aio* (Amph. 799, Most. 974) or *inquam* (Most. 964). But as the emphasis is often upon the fact, the answer is frequently made to that (Epid. 717, Truc. 194, Ad. 517), and *ain* becomes only a kind of introduction to the real question. These questions all expect an answer.

(b). Followed by a question with a verb of saying or thinking. Amph. 284, *Ain tu vero, verbero? deos esse tui similis putas?* Capt. 551 (Bx. is better here than Sonnenschein), Capt. 892, Cas. II 6, 45 (Geppert has period). Asin. 485 is in a passage so confused that it may seem useless to add another to the guesses already made, but I cannot think that *ain tu?* standing alone, is correct. As the last part of 485 almost necessitates the hypothesis that a vs. has fallen out (so Fleck.), in which the Mercator charges the slaves with intending to run away, and as the speakers are uncertain, I should read, *Quid, verbero? || ain tu, furcifer? erum me fugitare censes?* giving the first part to Libanus, the second to Leonida; cf. Phorm. 510. Pl. 4 [5], Ter. 0.

These differ from the preceding in that the verb of saying or thinking is a kind of substitute for and interpretation of *ain*, giving such a color to the whole as to make the preceding statement seem absurd. They imply a somewhat contemptuous rejection, which questions of the preceding class do not necessarily do.

(c). With repetition of a preceding phrase, either with or without the verb.

Without the leading verb. Amph. 1089, . . . *geminos peperit filios*. || *ain tu ? geminos ?* || *geminos*. Most. 383, 642, Curc. 323, Rud. 1095. Heaut. 1014, '*subditum*' *ain tu ?* is peculiar in having the quoted word first.

With repetition of the leading verb in the indic. Epid. 699, *lubuit* . . . || *ain tu ? lubuit ?* Pers. 29, 491, Trin. 987, Ph. 510, And. 875, Eun. 392. In the last two the added phrase is repeated from something said off the stage. Pl. 9, Ter. 4.

Editions vary considerably in the punctuation of these passages, most recent editors putting only a comma or no mark after *ain tu*. That two separate exclamations are intended in some cases is evident from the double answer in Pers. 491, *ubi nunc tua libertast ?* || *apud te*. || *ain ? apud mest ?* || *aio, inquam : apud test, inquam*. And the same thing is at least suggested by Phorm. 510, Ph. *Pamphilam meam vendidit ?* || An. *quid ? vendidit ?* || Ge. *ain ? vendidit ?* Trin. 987 must be two questions, and so all edd. Where the verb is not repeated the case is less clear, but I am inclined to regard *ain tu* here also as a separate exclamation, something like the New England phrase, "You don't say!" cf. the separate use of *quid*, e. g. Ph. 510, above. This would make this class similar to the following.

(d). *ain tu (vero, tandem) ?* without any repeated phrase. Amph. 344, *ain vero ?* || *aio enim vero*. Aul. 298, *ain tandem ?* || *itast ut dixi*. Asin. 721, 901 (but see Langen 119), Pers. 184, Truc. 609, Ad. 405, Heaut. 890, 242, Eun. 567, 803, Ph. 373.

Pl. 6, Ter. 6.

The large number of cases in Ter. points to a growth of the exclamatory use of *ain*. Pl. always uses *ain vero ?* or *ain tandem ?* Ter. has *ain tu ?* three times.

Doubtful or emended passages are rather common, owing to the easy confusion with *an*. In Aul. 538, I should follow the MSS and read *an audivisti ?* with hiatus in the change of speakers; cf. Merc. 393, St. 246. In Ps. 218 *ain* has been well changed by Lor. to *em*. In Amph. 838 *ain* is very unlikely. Goetz-Loewe read *enim*. Truc. 921, [*ain*] *hercle vero ?* || *serio*, is condemned by the fact that *hercle*, an asseverative word, is nowhere found with *ain*. Asin. 812 is emended to *an* by Ussing, with the approval of Langen, Beitr. 119. With this passage must stand or fall the precisely similar one in Phorm. 970. Bentley says, "cave vero

pro *Ain tu* cum quodam substituas *An tu*," supporting himself by Asin. 812 and Capt. 892. The latter is not parallel, and in spite of Bentley I should read *an tu* in Phorm. 970. Ritschl's conjecture, Most. 1012, *quid*, [*ain tu*] *a Tranione* ? is against the MSS and the sense of *aio*. Lor.² reads *quid*, *a Tranione servo* ? Rud. 1365 is added by Sch. to complete the vs.

In general it is worthy of note that *ain* never refers forward (as *quid ais* ? does) to what is about to be said, but always backward, to what has been said. As Langen remarks, it always stands at the beginning of a speech, if we change Asin. 812, Phorm. 970. When *ain tu* (*vero, tandem*) precedes a repetition, it becomes an exclamation, calling attention to what follows. In Pl. the following question is without *ne* ; Cic. Brut. 41, 152 uses *ne*. Finally, when no words are repeated with it, *ain* becomes a mere exclamation of wonder, incredulity or indignation. As it is in its nature a request for a restatement, it generally inclines toward the rejection of what has been said.

auden. Mil. 232, *auden participare me quod commentu's* ? A conj. of Bugge, adopted by Ribbeck, Lor., Bx. MSS *aut inparte*.

audin. This may refer backward to what has been said, always by some third speaker, or forward to what the speaker is about to say, and these two uses must be sharply distinguished.

(a). With direct object. Amph. 755, *audin illum* ? || *ego vero* . . . And. 342. With infin. Most. 821, . . . *empti fuerant olim*. || *audin 'fuerant' dicere* ? Capt. 602, Poen. 999. With *quis*-clause. Asin. 447, *audin quae loquitur* ? || *audio et quiesco*. The same in Bacch. 861, Men. 909, Mil. 1222, Ps. 193. *quid ait* Asin. 884, Capt. 592, Pers. 655, Ps. 330, Eun. 1037. With *ut*-clause. Asin. 598, *audin hunc opera ut largus est nocturna* ? Men. 920.

Without dependent clause, but referring backward. *audin*, Most. 622, Andr. 581 (MSS Speng. Wag. *audin tu illum*), Heaut. 243. *audin tu*, Mil. 1058, Eun. 809. Pl. 17, Ter. 5.

Logically these should be in a past tense, that is, they mean "Did you hear that ?" But the same vividness which makes the dependent verb (*loquitur, ait*) present, permits the present with past reference in the main verb. When there is an answer, it is generally *audio*, sometimes assent in a different form. Sometimes no answer is waited for.

Becker, p. 270, discusses the passages in which *audin* has a *quis*-clause. He calls questions with *audin, viden, scin*, "adul-

terinae," saying that they are often used for the imperative, and quoting in proof Mil. 1314 (*audin*), Trin. 457 (*abin*), and referring to the frequency of *quin* with imperative effect, as well as to the indiscriminate use of *vide* and *viden*. He says, "is, qui interrogat, non propterea interrogat, quod aliquid ab aliquo scire vult." On nearly all these points Becker is in error. Mil. 1314 refers forward to what the speaker is about to say, and is not parallel to *audin quid ait*? All that follows from the imperative uses of *abin*, *viden*, *quin* is that certain questions may have imperative effect, not that any particular question does have such effect. Finally, the sense of these questions is generally distinctly interrogative. This is shown by the large proportion which have a regular and unemotional answer, and also by a consideration of the situation, which is the same in all: A hears B saying something which he thinks C ought to notice, and therefore asks C if he heard it. In some cases he does not know whether C heard or not; in others, he uses the question form as a means of calling attention to the remark, but even in these cases the leaning toward an imperative effect is very slight.

(b). *audin* refers forward to something which the speaker is about to say.

As introductory to this class two cases deserve mention, in which *audin* refers backward to a previous command which is at once repeated. Hec. 78, . . . *si quaeret me, . . . dicito . . . audin quid dicam, Scirte? si quaeret me, . . . dicas . . .* and Eun. 706, *concede istuc paululum: audin? etiam nunc paulum*. Hec. 78 is also peculiar in the mood of *dicam*, and for this reason Becker, p. 282, calls it a genuine question. Except as the subjunctive may be considered an indication of this it is not more interrogative than several of the *audin quid ait* sentences. Somewhat similar to these is Asin. 750, . . . *translege. || audin? || audio*, "Are you listening?" "Yes," in that it also refers forward, but without any distinct imperative force.

The other cases, referring to and introducing that which the speaker is just about to say, are the following: Asin. 116, *audin tu? apud Archibulum ego ero argentarium*, Cas. III 5, 62, Men. 254, Mil. 1088, Pers. 676 (Rit. uses period), Poen. 408, 1006, 1155, Ps. 172 (*auditin*), 665, Andr. 299, 865.

In the following some phrase expressing attention is interposed, generally *quid vis*? Cf. *quid ais?* || *quid vis?* Men. 310, *audin, Menaechme?* || *quid vis?* || . . . *iubeas . . .*, Epid. 400, Mil. 1313,

Truc. 331. Trin. 799, Poen. 407 (*quid est?*), Asin. 109 (*ecce*), Poen. 406 (*etiam*), Merc. 953 (*iam dudum audivi*).

Pl. 20, Ter. 4.

In these cases, where no answer is expected and except for comic effect (Merc. 953) none is given, the imperative force of which Becker speaks is more distinct. Even in these it cannot be said that the question is equivalent to *audi*. But the introductory question serves its purpose without expecting a verbal answer; the increased attention is the answer. The imperative effect is especially noticeable in *atque audin?* used generally after one imperative to introduce a second, Mil. 1088, Epid. 400, Asin. 109, Poen. 406, 407, Ps. 665, Trin. 799, Andr. 299, 865.

It will be noticed that Ter. uses, beside the peculiar Eun. 706, Hec. 78, only the form *atque audin?* never *audin* or *audin tu* referring forward.

aufersne, an old conj. adopted by Rit. in Ps. 1315. MSS *auferre non*. V. Lor. Krit. Anh. The passage is uncertain, and *aufersne* improbable. Goetz *auferen*.

censen. With infin. Asin. 887, *censen tu illunc hodie primum ire adsuetum esse in ganeum?* Aul. 309, Merc. 461, Ad. 579 (v. notes in Speng. and Dz.), Andr. 256, Eun. 217, Hec. 662, Ph. 875. (The last four and Aul. 309 have some form of *posse* in the infin.) In Rud. 1269, *censen hodie despondebit eam mihi, quaeso?* || *censeo*, the indic. is used by parataxis; cf. Kühner II, p. 758, 4. Heaut. 591, *censen vero?* is the only case without dependent verb, but is not otherwise peculiar. Aul. 315 is so vague in sense that it has given rise to much discussion. V. Langen, p. 141, Goetz *ad loc.* If it is given to Anthrax, it harmonizes fairly well with his somewhat incredulous attitude, and may then have the same sense as the other cases: "You don't really think he lives such a miserable life as that, do you?"

Poen. 730, which Langen condemns, should have *quid tum*, with A.

Pl. 5, Ter. 6.

These questions deserve especial notice from those who think that the effect of *nonne* in certain *ne*-questions is due to the original negative sense of *ne*. All the cases where *censen* is followed by the infin. expect a negative answer, and are almost equivalent to *num censes?* There are two reasons for this: *first*, the idea expressed by the infin. is invariably one which the speaker wishes to reject, so that any neutral form of question would be forced by the circumstances into a rejecting meaning, that is, would seem to

expect a negative answer. *Second, censen* has in these questions the notion of erroneous opinion; but this lies not in the interrogative form, but in the verb *censere*.

cognoscin. Amph. 822, *cognoscin tu me saltem, Sosia?* || *propemodum*. Poen. 1130. The *nonne* effect is due mainly to *saltem*, partly to the circumstances of the question, as in Poen. 1130.

credin. Poen. 441, *credin quod ego fabuler?* Capt. 961, Eun. 812, 852. The first case is from a confused passage, so that it is not possible to determine the sense precisely, but the rest have a *num* effect, like that in questions with *censen*, and resulting from the same kind of half-ironical sense in the verb. It is noteworthy that both *censen* and *credin* are used more frequently by Terence.

dan, datin. Curc. 311, *datin isti sellam ubi adsidat cito . . .?* Asin. 712, Truc. 631. *dan* is not found in the MSS, but is read by conj. in Asin. 671, Truc. 373, 911. The MSS Pall. have *dant*, A *da*, and *dan* may be held to explain both readings. It is entirely analogous to *datin*, all cases having an impv. or future effect, like that of *abin*. Pl. 3 [6], Ter. o.

deridesne. Curc. 392, *unocule, salve. || quaeso, deridesne me?* Curc. 18; cf. *rogas* and similar questions below.

dicisne. Most. 660, *dicisne hoc quod te rogo?* || *dicam*. Pers. 281, answered by *dico* for comic effect. These have a tendency to impv. force.

esne. Men. 1109, *esne tu Suracusanus?* || *certo*. Pers. 581. Regular questions for information.

faterin. Capt. 317, *sed faterin eadem quae hic fassust mihi?* || *ego . . . fateor*. For information.

fugin. Aul. 660, *fugin hinc ab oculis?* *abin an non?* Andr. 337, answered by *ego vero ac lubens*. These are in all respects similar to *abin*.

haben, habetin. Bacch. 269, *habetin aurum?* *id primum mihi dici volo*. Ps. 1163, Trin. 89, 964, Truc. 680, Eun. 674. These are all regular questions, without any *nonne* or future effect. Asin. 579, *argenti viginti minas habesne?* has been changed to *habes nunc*, Müll. Pros. Pl. 642, Nachtr. 103, because of the position of *habesne*, which would be unparalleled. In the disputed and difficult passage Mil. I 1, 38 (68 Bx.²) the evidence of the cases above favors *haben*. So far as I am aware *habes* without *-ne* is not used by Pl.

Pl. 5 [6], Ter. 1.

in (isne). Bacch. 1185, *in hac mecum intro . . .?* Eun. 651, Ph. 930. There is considerable variation in the MSS of Ter.; cf.

Heaut. 813. These also have impv. effect, though in Bacch. 1185 the questioning effect is also distinctly present. Pl. 1, Ter. 2.

iuben. Asin. 939, *iuben hanc hinc abscedere?* || *i domum.* Amph. 929, Mil. 315, St. 598. All have future or impv. effect, that is, they mean "will you order," not "are you ordering." In Eun. 389, *iubesne?* || *iubeam? cogo atque impero*, there is no impv. force: it means simply, "is it your command that I should do it?" Pl. 4, Ter. 1.

ludin. Ps. 24, *ludin me ludo tuo?* So A (Rit.); better *ludis* (A Loewe BCD and Goetz) with period.

manen (manesne). Most. 887, *manen ilico, parasite impure?* With impv. effect, entirely similar to *abin*; cf. *mane*, 885.

mittin. Truc. 756, *mittin me intro?* With impv. effect. In Ps. 239 (233 L.¹) *mittin* is a change on metrical grounds from *mitte* of the MSS. It is not quite parallel to Truc. 756.

negasne. Poen. 777, *negasne apud te esse aurum nec servom meum?* || *nego.* This single case (cf. *negas*, below) is justified by the formality of question and answer, which is unlike the exclamatory tone of *negas*.

perdormiscin. Men. 928, *perdormiscin tu usque ad lucem?* Regular question for information.

pergin. With infin. present. Amph. 349, *pergin argutier?* Asin. 477, Capt. 591, Poen. 434, Mil. 380, Ps. 1300, Truc. 265, Ps. 1249 (*pergitin pergere?*), Poen. 433 (*pergere*), Eun. 817, Heaut. 237, 1006, Ph. 372, 996.

Without infin., three times with *autem*; cf. Langen, Beitr., pp. 315 ff. Amph. 539, *pergin autem? non ego possum, furcifer, te perdere?* Curc. 196, Mil. 300, Cist. IV 1, 14, Ps. 238, Merc. 998, Ad. 853 (*pergisne*), Eun. 380, 1007. In Men. 607, *pergin tu* is a conj. of Rit. for *perge tu* of MSS. V. Bx.⁸ Anh. Heaut. 582, Ph. 806, have *perdis* in A (*pergis* in most of the other MSS), and this is the reading of Umpf. and Dz. In Poen. 295, a passage exactly similar, BCD have *perdis*, while A appears to have *PERG* . . . This would be the only case of *pergis* without *ne*, and *perdis* with period is therefore more probable. Pl. 15 [16], Ter. 8.

Where the infin. is used, the question is almost regular, and, though emotional, is uninfluenced in its use by the emotion, that is, by a kind of sarcastic self-restraint, the speaker asks whether a certain course of conduct is to be maintained, instead of demanding that it cease. To this kind of irony it is essential that the simple form of question should be used, or else the appearance of

a polite desire for information would be lost. It is the studiously formal style of sarcasm.

When *pergin* is used alone, it degenerates into a kind of exclamation. The middle step is perhaps the feeling that it is unnecessary to specify the silly conduct which the other person is continuing, because it is so evident, and it is noticeable that most of the infinitives used with *pergin* are rather general, *male loqui*, *argutier*, *auris tundere*, etc. So instead of saying "are you keeping up your nonsense?" the speaker says, "are you still at it?" The same sort of degeneration is to be seen in the uses of *ain*, above, to which *pergin* has several points of resemblance.

praeben. Pers. 792, *fer aquam pedibus. praeben, puere?* With impv. effect.

properatin. Curc. 312, *datin isti sellam . . .? properatin ocus?* With impv. effect.

recedin. Bacch. 579, *adi actutum ad fores. recedin hinc directe?* MSS *recede* with hiatus, *recedin* Bothe, Goetz. Future or impv. effect.

rerin. Bacch. 1127, *rerin ter tu in anno posse has tonsitari?* The verb-form is sure, the rest uncertain. An ordinary question.

reddin. Curc. 612, *reddin etiam argentum aut virginem?* is an early conj. adopted by Uss. and Kienitz on *quin*, for *redde etiam* of the MSS. Langen, Beitr. 161, points out the fact that *etiamne reddis*, not *reddin etiam*, is the Plautine form, and proposes *redde mi iam*, which is preferable.

scin. Cf. Lor. Ps. 263, Wag. Aul. 305, Kühn. II 1005, 5, Becker, 276 ff., 280 ff.

Questions with *scin* are divided according to the form of the object.

(a). With direct object in accus. Epid. 207, *scin tu istuc?* || *scio.* Ad. 581.

With infin. Amph. 1082, *agedum expedi: scin me tuom esse erum Amphitruonem?* || *scio.* Cas. II 6, 68, Poen. 879, Mil. 339, 398, Eun. 744.

With indirect question in the subjunctive. Men. 530, *scin quod hoc sit spinter?* || *nescio, nisi aureum.* Trin. 373, Eun. 437, Heaut. 820 (cf. Ad. 570). On all these see Becker, p. 282 f. In Eun. 1035, which would come here, the MSS distinctly favor *scis*.¹ Pl. 8, Ter. 4.

¹ In this case, as in some others, I have thought it better to avoid the possibility of obscuring differences in usage between Plautus and Terence, than to bring the two into conformity by changes in the text. The development of the language between Pl. and Ter. is one of the nicest problems in historical syntax.

These are genuine questions in form, and are regularly answered by *scio* (8 times), *sentio*, or by some other direct answer. In Heaut. 820 the answer is to the indirect question. There is no imperative effect, but the questions are intended to elicit an acknowledgment rather than to obtain information, and they have, therefore, an argumentative tone, which approaches the effect of *nonne*; that is, is often expressed in English by "don't you know?" But if the questioner puts himself into a more impartial and judicial attitude, he uses in English, as in Latin, the form "do you know?"

(b). *scin quid*, with the indicative. Men. 677, *scin quid est, quod ego ad te venio?* || *scio*. Men. 207, 425, 1154 (*scitin*), Poen. 1167, Ps. 276, 538, 641, 657, Rud. 773, 1216, Trin. 350, Eun. 338, Heaut. 494, Hec. 753.

The following have the subjunctive standing for a command in direct discourse, independently of the indirect question, all with the verb *facias*. Pers. 154, *sed scin quid facias? cape . . .* Cas. II 8, 54, Mil. 1034, Men. 947. Cf. also Men. 425, Hec. 753.

In Ad. 215 I should prefer *scis*; cf. Eun. 1035, above. Ad. 83 is still uncertain, but is not *scin*. Pl. 16, Ter. 3 [4].

These cases are distinguished from the preceding, not only by the mood of the subordinate clause, but also by its meaning. The forms used are *scin quid volo ego te adcurare, quid te amabo ut facias, quid ego vos rogo, quid est, quid te oro*, etc., which have no independent meaning like *scin quod hoc sit spinter*, but are a kind of empty form, requiring some further statement to fill them in, a kind of uncolored outline. While, therefore, some of these questions are answered (*scio, sciam si dixeris, quid? propemodum, impera quidvis, dic*), and the form of the answer in a few cases shows that some questioning effect is still felt, yet in most cases no answer is expected, and the sentence which gives meaning to the *quid*-clause follows at once. The result of the indefiniteness and emptiness of the *quid*-clause is that these questions have lost their independent meaning, ceased to be genuine questions, and become merely introductory to the following words of the same speaker. They are like *quid ais?* or the English, "I'll tell you what!" The clause which follows, being important enough to need an introduction, is often adversative or corrective, a tone which is more developed in the following classes. Where *volo* is used, the following sentence is an impv. or its equivalent.

(c). *scin quam, quo pacto, quo modo, ut*, with the indicative, regularly if not invariably.

Pers. 139, . . . *potest*. || *scin quam potest*? Poen. 1319. Amph. 671 and Bacch. 594 have the subjunctive. Bacch. 1178 (*quo pacto*), Aul. 47 (*quo modo*), Eun. 800 (*ut*). Pl. 6, Ter. 1.

The mood in four of these is subjunctive. Bacch. 1178 is entirely similar to *facias* above, i. e. is independent of the indirect question. The same is true of Amph. 671, where *sim* is a repetition of the impv. *es*; cf. questions of repetition, below, IV B. As to the others, Bacch. 594, Eun. 800, which Becker discusses, p. 280 f., without reaching a definite conclusion, there is apparently no reason for the subjunctive except the fact that the verbs are in indirect question. These are, however, not genuine questions, and therefore, according to Becker's law, should have the indicative. It only remains to change the text, or to say, as I should prefer to do, that the distinction between *scin* in genuine questions and in introductory questions is so slight that it does not warrant a change of text. In the transition from the indic. to the subjunct. in indirect questions, there would inevitably be some exceptional cases.

In sense these passages differ from *scin quid* by referring more clearly to what precedes, and serving at the same time to introduce what follows. The full logical expression would be, "Do you know (let me tell you) in what sense or to what degree that which you have said is to be accepted?" Then follows the explanation, which is never serious, as often with *scin quid*, but has an exaggerated tone of correction under the guise of explanation, often amounting to a threat. It is a further development of the corrective effect, which, as has been said, appears not infrequently with *scin quid*, as is attested by the common use of *at, sed*, Ps. 538, 641, 657, Rud. 1216, Trin. 350, etc.

The lack of content in the subordinate clause, except as it is supplied by repetition from the preceding, makes these questions suited to use for introduction, as in the case of *scin quid*.

(d). Three passages deserve special mention, being used in aposiopesis. Asin. 703, *adsta . . . ut consuetus es puer—scin ut dicam*? Pers. 296, *qui te di deaque—scin quid dicturus fuerim, nisi linguae moderari queam*? Ps. 1178, *scin quid loquar*? The mood appears to be subjunctive, and Becker, p. 283, is perhaps right in calling them genuine questions. Yet in all respects except the mood they resemble more nearly the examples under *b* and *c*.

(e). *scin quomodo (quam, quemadmodum, quouismodi, quid)* without a verb in the subordinate clause.

Amph. 356, *at scin quo modo ? faciam ego hodie te superbum, ni hinc abis*. Aul. 307, 832, Mil. 1162 (*quemadmodum*), Most. 642 (*quouismodi*), Poen. 438, 441 (*quam*), 376, Rud. 797, Heaut. 738 (*quid*), Ph. 111 (*quam*), Eun. 1063 (*quam*). In the last A, Umpf. read *scis*; cf. Becker, 279, n. Pl. 9, Ter. 3.

These are a further development of *b* and *c*. In those the subordinate clause is almost without independent meaning; in these it has dropped off from lack of use, only the interrogative remaining. They refer, as do the others, to a preceding speech, which they correct (*at, sed* in eight cases) by adding an exaggerated and often threatening explanation. Cases which are not threatening are Aul. 307, Mil. 1162, Most. 642.

(f). Rud. 382, *scin tu ? etiam qui it lavatum . . .* is the only example in Pl. of *scin* without object; cf. *audin, viden*. Heaut. 297 is an irregular sentence, but seems to me similar to Rud. 382, and I should read (after BCDEFP) *scin tu ? hanc quam dicit*, etc.

Upon the uses of *scin*, taken together, it may be remarked, *first*, that the *nonne* effect in genuine questions (and to some slight extent with *scin quid*) is due to the sense of *scire*, not to the form of the question or the particle *ne*. *Second*, there is a gradual decline in the importance of the object clause, until in *scin quid ?* it becomes almost meaningless. But it is not lost altogether (except in the one or two cases noticed), as in *audin* and *viden*, because with *audin* the object is easily supplied from the words which are being uttered, with *viden* from the object or action to which attention is called, while with *scin* no such object is present to the senses. *Third*, it is often said (e. g. Lor. on Ps. 263, Becker, p. 276) that *scin* here unites with *quis* into an indefinite like *nescio quis*. But it should be noticed that in nearly all these phrases, *nescio quis, nescio an, haud scio an*, there is a negative, and even if we admit the possibility of an indefinite *scio quis* (Aul. 174, *scio quid dictura's*, which Lor. quotes, is not to the point), we have still only first pers. verbs. The first person and the negative seem to me to be essential; it is the speaker's own ignorance which makes his statement indefinite, and I do not see how *nescis quis* could form one indefinite idea. Further, none of these indefinite phrases appears to be used in questions, nor does it seem possible to say *nescione quid est ?* in a sense like *estne aliquid ?* Besides, all forms of *scin* questions except *d* and *f* are occasion-

ally answered by some form of *scire*; cf. Most. 642, *sed scin quomodusmodi?* || *qui scire possum?* If the meaning of the verb is still felt in a phrase so weakened as this, it cannot be that it is not perfectly clear in such a sentence as Men. 677, *scin quid est, quod ego ad te venio?* || *scio*. The weakening of meaning in all these phrases is in the *quis*-clause, not in the verb.

sponden. Aul. 256, *sponden ergo?* || *spondeo*. Capt. 898, Curc. 674, Poen. 1157, Trin. 1157, 1162 (*sponden* in the fifth place).

Pl. 6, Ter. o.

All are answered by *spondeo* and illustrate the formal, unemotional question; cf. *dabin*.

stasne. Cas. III 6, 20, *stasne? i tu iam sis*. So A (Geppert).

tenesne. Heaut. 778, *argentum dabitur ei ad nuptias, aurum atque vestem qui—tenesne?* || *compareret?* || *id ipsum*; cf. *nostin*, in Ter.

valen. Trin. 50, *valen? valuistin?* || *valeo et valui rectius*.

viden. (a). With direct object. Bacch. 834, *viden convivium?* || *video exadvorsum Pistoclerum et Bacchidem*. Bacch. 1161, Most. 829. In Rud. 157, Eun. 836, the object is to be supplied. In a number of passages the text is more or less uncertain. Most. 832, *viden pictum, ubi . . .?* (So Stud. Becker, 275–6. Lor.² reads *vide tu*, omitting *pictum* as a gloss.) Mil. Glor. 376 is very uncertain, see especially Langen, p. 276. On Rud. 253, *viden amabo fanum videsne hoc*, which has been variously punctuated, Uss. rightly says, “duplex *videsne* ferri non potest.”

These are all simple questions, generally answered by *video*, and not inclining in any marked way either toward the impv. or *nonne*. Epid. 221, *viden veneficam?* is like the others in form, but entirely different in sense; as the woman was not present, it means something like, “What a witch!” I should read *vide*.

Pl. 6 [8], Ter. 1.

(b). With the infinitive. Capt. 595, *viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis?* Men. 828, Mil. 219, 990, Poen. 979, St. 637, Andr. 616, Eun. 241, 754.

Pl. 6, Ter. 3.

These have in all cases the effect of *nonne*, produced by the fact that they ask the person addressed whether he perceives a state of things which the infin. with subject accusative in the same sentence declares to be evident. That is, logically such a sentence is equal to, “His body is spotted all over! Don’t you see it?” If in such a case one should say in English “Do you see it?” the mere use of the question in immediate connection with the assertion would produce the *nonne* effect.

(c). With dependent clause introduced by *ut* (*quid*, *quam*), sometimes with prolepsis of the subject of the subordinate clause.

Curc. 160, *viden ut anus tremula medicinam facit?* Asin. 149, 636 (*quid*), Bacch. 492, 1130, Capt. 557. Curc. 188, Men. 646, Mil. 1045, Most. 1172, Pers. 812, Rud. 171, 869, 1093, Trin. 847 (*quid*), Eun. 265 (*quid*), 783 (*quam rem*). Also Stich. 635, 636, Poen. 314, partly on conjecture, and Curc. 311 (*vide ut*, Goetz). In Most. 254, Mil. 1272 the MSS are misleading. Truc. 891 is entirely confused. In Most. 817, *viden vestibulum ante aedis hoc et ambulacrum, quousmodi?* the verb of the subordinate clause is omitted, as in *scin quam*, *quomodo*, etc. Pl. 20, Ter. 2.

These questions are discussed by Becker, 272-3. He concludes that there is practically no difference in sense between *viden ut* and *vide ut*, comparing St. 410 with Asin. 636, Phorm. 358 with Eun. 265, and adding, "adhortationis vocabulum est, quo alterius oculi ad rem vel personam, de qua verba fiunt, conspiciendam advertantur." While in general the correctness of this cannot be doubted, it is worth while also to note some evidences that the interrogative force is not wholly lost. In Rud. 869 the question is answered by *video*; in several passages, e. g. Capt. 557, Men. 646, the context shows that *viden* is much nearer in sense to *nonne vides* than to *vide*; the close similarity in other phrases between an infin. and an *ut*-clause in Plautus supports the idea that *viden ut* is not very widely removed from *viden* with an infin.; cf. Stich. 635, 636, *viden benignitates hominum ut periere et prothymiae?* with 637, *viden ridiculos nihili fieri . . .?* It seems plain that, though *viden* and *vide* were interchangeable, the impv. effect was very closely allied to the *nonne* effect, and the question was still felt in some cases and to some slight degree.

(d). *viden* without dependent words. Capt. 304, *sed viden? fortuna humana fingit artatque ut lubet*. Heaut. 252. In Curc. 93 the MSS have *viden ut aperiuntur aedes festivissumae?* against the metre. Goetz reads *viden? aperiuntur*, but *viden* alone is argumentative as is *scin tu?* while *vide ut* is used to call attention to a present occurrence. I should therefore read with Bothe, *vide ut*. Poen. 441 is in a passage where the speaker, in utter confusion, pours out a stream of disconnected phrases, which deserve the careful attention of the student of colloquial Latin. A has *scin quam?—videtur—credin quod ego fabuler?* BCD *vide tu*. Guyet conjectured *viden tu?* which suits the passage better than *videtur*, as Goetz and Loewe read in their admirable arrangement of these lines.

With these cf. *audin, scin tu, nostin* (Ter.) Pl. 3 [4], Ter. 1.

vin. Arranged according to the object. (a). With accusative. Curc. 313, *vin aquam* ? || . . . *da, obsecro hercle*. Cas. II 8, 61, Curc. 90 (*voltisne*), Most. 309, 846, Rud. 1328. Pl. 6, Ter. o.

The answer is generally a refusal, expressed by *quid opust, apage, dormis*, never by *nolo*. That is, the verb necessarily suggests an offer of service. The questions are simple and unemotional.

(b). With infinitive active without subject accusative. Men. 141, *vin tu facinus luculentum inspicere* ? Merc. 769, Mil. 458, 535, 978, 979, Pers. 587 bis, 657, 660, Poen. 159, 161, 163, 308, 1115, 1415, Ad. 906, Heaut. 585, Ph. 807, 1052.

The answers are *volo, malo, nolo, cupio* (the most common), and the question is regular, without impv. or *nonne* effect. Mil. Glor. I 1, 38, Rud. 1011 are spoken of below.

Infin. passive with or without accus. Amph. 769, *vin proferri pateram* ? || *proferri volo*. Asin. 646, Men. 653, Pers. 803, Merc. 490, Rud. 1035 (the only one without accus.), Ad. 969, Ph. 811. Bacch. 873 will be given below. Pl. 22, Ter. 6.

These are genuine questions, the answers to which frequently contain *volo* or its equivalent. Their only peculiarity is a kind of challenging effect, not unlike the offer of service spoken of above, especially with the infin. active. "Do you want to see some fun?" implies "I will show you some fun, if you will come with me." This makes *vin* with the infin., especially when *tu* is expressed, a phrase of encouragement or exhortation.¹

(c). Infin. active with accus. *me*. Merc. 462, *vin me tecum illo ire* ? || *nolo*. Merc. 485, Rud. 1406, Heaut. 624, Hec. 725, Ph. 810. Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

These are separated from the other infinitives because they are closely related in sense to the following class. They present in

¹ The distinction between *vin tu* and *vis tu*, made by Bentley on Hor. Sat. II 6, 92, and generally accepted by the editors of Hor., is not supported by the cases of *vin tu* in Pl. and Ter. Men. 141, Mil. 458, 978, 979, Poen. 159, 163, 308, Ad. 906, Heaut. 585, as well as several passages in which *tu* is not expressed, have a perfectly distinct sense "*orantis, hortantis, flagitantis, iubentis*," which Bentley would confine to *vis tu*. They are perfect parallels to *vin tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis* ? except that an answer comes between the question and the following imperative, as is natural in dialogue. Whatever may be true of *vis tu* in Sen., Juv., and Mart., it is impossible to exclude *vin tu* from Hor. Sat. *on the ground of sense*, when it is so abundantly attested in the comedy. Cf. Cic. Fam. IV 5, 4,

themselves no peculiarity except the rather remarkable position of *me* in Merc. 485, Rud. 1406 (*vin tibi conditionem luculentam ferre me* ?), which is probably not significant.

(d). *vin* with the first person of the present subjunctive. Capt. 360, *vin vocem huc ad te* ? || *voca*. Asin. 647, Capt. 858, Cas. III 2, 14, Men. 614, Merc. 486, 722, Mil. 335, 1399, Most. 322, Pers. 575, Poen. 439, 990, 1226, Ps. 324, 522, St. 397, 486, 736, Trin. 59, 1091, Truc. 502, 924, Eun. 894, Hec. 787, Ph. 102 (*vollisne*). In Truc. 751 BCD have *omittes inea mitto intro*, for which Schoell reads *omitte*. || *vin eam intro* ? || *ad te quidem*. The sense, I suppose, would be, "Are you willing to let me go in?" a sense which *vin* with the subjunctive nowhere has. The passage is entirely confused.

Pl. 23 [24], Ter. 3.

Beside these passages there are four in which the MSS give *vis*. On the very doubtful Mil. Gl. I 1, 38, *vis rogare* ? or *tabellas vis rogare* ? I will only remark that there is no parallel in Plautus or Terence to this use of *vis* ; all other cases with infin. refer to something to be done. It may be that *vis* is the centre of error. Bacch. 873, Cas. II 3, 54 (169 Gepp.), Rud. 1011 all have *vis*, which Geppert in Cas. II 3, 54 has changed to *vin*. As the other cases are, in form and sense, entirely parallel to those given above, I should read *vin* both in Bacch. 873 and Rud. 1011.

The answers to *vin* with the subjunctive are *volo*, *cupio*, *licet*, *censeo*, and three or four times the imperative of the dependent verb. This seems to show that, while *vin* may be neglected in the answer, so that *vin huc vocem* ? is almost like *eon* ? *voco huc hominem* ? its proper force is never wholly lost. The subjunctive is always in the first person (except Most. 322, *visne ego te ac tu me amplectare* ? where the second person is, of course, due to the previous use of the first person), and always in the sing. except Trin. 59, Eun. 894, Ph. 102.

It appears from the foregoing that only the forms *vin facere*, *vin hoc fieri*, *vin me facere*, and *vin faciam* are in use, the passive taking the place of the third person active. Between *vin me facere* and *vin faciam* there is apparently no difference in meaning (cf. Merc. 462, *vin me tecum illo ire* ? with 486, *visne eam ad portum* ? and also Asin. 646, 647). But it is remarkable that while Pl. uses *vin faciam*, the paratactic construction, 23 times, and *vin me facere*, the hypotaxis, only three times, Ter. uses *vin faciam* three times (two plur.) and *vin me facere* three times.

vivisne. Rud 243, *dic : vivisne, opseco* ?

Indicative present, third person.

Most of the third persons of the present are entirely regular, differing in no respect from similar questions in more formal and later styles. They are *amatne*, Epid. 64; *cognoscitne*, Eun. 915; *daturne*, Andr. 301; *doletne*, Ps. 155; *egetne*, Trin. 330; *fertne*, Bacch. 322; *foetetne*, Asin. 928 (second word in sentence); *licetne*, Cas. II 8, 20, Curc. 401, Ps. 16 (MSS Bx. G. *licet me*), Hec. 873, And. 893; without infin., Mil. 501, 521, Heaut. 973; *paeniletne*, Truc. 533 (Ps. 305 is given under *an*); *scitne*, Ps. 745; *valetne*, Truc. 190; *vivitne*, Capt. 282, 989, Heaut. 660; *vivontne*, Ph. 749. On Bacch. 188 see Goetz, Langen, Beitr. 131.

The effect of *nonne* appears plainly in Amph. 526, *facitne ut dixi?* and Andr. prol. 17, *faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant*; cf. Don. ad loc. It is less distinct in Most. 622, *videturne* (MSS *videtur*). In all three cases it arises from the asking of a question the answer to which is made evident from the context or the action. In Most. 605 the MSS have *date mihi* (BC) or *daturin* (A?), for which Rit. substituted *daturne faenus?* with impv. effect. This is not supported by any analogous case in Pl. or Ter.

Pl. 17 [18], Ter. 8.

estne (*suntne*) is separated because of some special uses.

In regular questions like the preceding, Truc. 189, *estne intus nunc Phronesium?* Poen. 797, Rud. 1130, Truc. 309, Ad. 569, Eun. 361, Heaut. 454. In Pers. 310 *estne* is preceded by an unfinished question with *ecquid*. Men. 1107 *estne* (twice) is a conjecture of Rit. for *est* of MSS. See IV B. With perf. ptc., Bacch. 1023, Epid. 471. Capt. 281, Rud. 719 have *suntne*.

In a soliloquy, expressing a partial recognition of some person who has just come upon the stage. Bacch. 534, *estne hic meus sodalis?* || *estne hic hostis quem aspicio meus?* || *certe is est.* || *is est.* Curc. 230, 275, Merc. 866, Mil. 169, Most. 310, Poen. 1299, Rud. 334 (twice), Trin. 432, Ad. 78, 438, Andr. 800, Eun. 848, 974, Ph. 740. In Capt. 788, Asin. 585 the proper name precedes the verb.

In the following cases *estne* is equivalent to *nonne est*. Epid. 622, *estne ita, ut tibi dixi?* Amph. 780, Asin. 54, Bacch. 901, 986, Cist. II 1, 15, Pers. 225, Trin. 403, Ph. 896. The same effect has been supposed to exist in some of the passages where *estne* is used in soliloquy. The reason in all is the same, i. e. there is some evident fact which compels an affirmative answer, or something in the question itself, beside *estne*, which appeals to such a

fact. So *ut dixi* Epid. 622, Ph. 896, *ut (quod) dico*, Asin. 54, Bacch. 986, and some form of *hic* in nearly all the others. In the cases of *estne* in recognition, it is the presence of the other person on the stage. The large extent of this usage is explained by the fact that it served to introduce the new-comer to the audience.

Pl. 29, Ter. 10.

Indicative imperfect.

conveniebatne, Ps. 1181. Other clauses precede, but this is really the beginning of the question.

ibatne, Hec. 157.

These are regular questions. No other persons or numbers are used.

Pl. 1, Ter. 1.

Indicative future.

negabon, Andr. 612, *adibon*, Mil. 1242. The latter is extremely doubtful. For questions in regard to what one is about to do the regular usage requires either pres. indic. with *ne* (see above) or the pres. subj. The future tense, at least in questions, has a clear reference to a future time; cf. Andr. 612, Mil. 1021. The only approach to a parallel is Truc. 206, *ibo igitur intro?* which, if it is interrogative at all, asks for permission, not for advice. Leo's *adbitone?* is in harmony with Plautine usage, or as no question is absolutely required, any more than in Truc. 206, we might read *adibo*. || *minume*, but it is not improbable that the whole passage is corrupt. *auferen*, Ps. 1224. *dabin*, Bacch. 883, Ps. 117, 536, 1077, all in *stipulatio*. In accordance with the formal character of these questions, they are answered by *dabo* or its equivalent, and it is perhaps for the same reason that in two the verb comes at the end. Cas. III 6, 9 is an improbable conjecture of Geppert. *ibisne*, St. 612. Heaut. 813, *ibin hinc quo dignus es?* is a conjecture of Bentley for MSS *is hinc* or *i tu hinc*. Ter. apparently uses the future in such phrases as this, if the MSS are correct in Eun. 536, but there is no case of the fut. with *ne*, nor does it seem possible to express impv. effect in this way. *patierin*, Epid. 148, and by conj. Asin. 738, Cist. II 1, 24 (325 Uss.), *poterin*, Ph. 518 (near the end of the sentence). *reddeturne*, Most. 580. *eximesne*, Rud. 233 is a conjecture of Schoell for *eximes*. It would have impv. force, but the passage is wholly confused. Pl. 8 [13], Ter. 2 [3].

These are all genuine questions, without impv. or *nonne* effect, and with a distinct reference to a future time, beyond the immediate future.

Indicative perfect, first person.

cenavin, Amph. 823; *dedin*, Epid. 703, Truc. 935 (MSS *dedi*);

dixin, Bacch. 856, Cist. Frag. 27 (Ben.) = 251 Uss., Men. 283, 375, Ps. 489, 1227, Ad. 83, Eun. 1093, Hec. 497; *emin*, Eun. 691; *iussin*, Cas. II 2, 4, Asin. 424, 425, 426; *misine*, Bacch. 561; *scivin*, Ps. 976; *tetigin*, Ad. 178; *vidin*, Heaut. 563; *votuin*, Capt. 703. In Epid. 550, *novin ego te*? the verb is really present in sense. Epid. 539 has a large *lacuna*, but no other case in Pl. or Ter. supports the omission of *ne*, and it seems necessary to supply it with Spengel, Ref. p. 372. In Andr. 495 *edixin* is the reading (if I understand Umpf. rightly) of all MSS, and is required by the sense. Bentley's *edixi* seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the *nonne* effect, and Dz., Adn. Crit. xx, has apparently mistaken the *app. crit.* in Umpf. Pl. 17 [18], Ter. 7.

In nearly all these cases there is a perfectly clear *nonne* effect, so that we must translate "didn't I tell you so?" "didn't I know it?" "didn't I order you . . .?" Just as *scin* sometimes asks for an acknowledgment, so *dixin* does not ask for information ("did I say that?"), but demands from the person addressed an acknowledgment that a certain thing had been said or done by the speaker; cf. for similar effect *estne ut dixi*? Epid. 622, Ph. 896, where there is the same reference to an undeniable fact.

That this effect is not the necessary result of anything in the form of the question appears from Cist. 251 (Uss.), *dixin ego istaec obsecro*? which the context shows to be a half-dazed question for information, and still more clearly from Ad. 178, *tetigin tui quicquam*? This is equivalent to *num tetigi* . . .? that is, it appeals in the same way for an acknowledgment, but in this case for a negative. The presence of *quicquam* may be due to this negative demand, but does not produce it; cf. Capt. 703, *votuin te quicquam mi hodie falsum proloqui*? || *votuisti*, where, however, *quicquam* is in the subordinate clause. The perfect is aoristic in all cases, except perhaps Cist. 251, Ad. 178.

Perfect indicative, second person.

In the following passages *ne* is found in the MSS and is unobjectionable on metrical grounds.

accepistin, Truc. 791; *adduxtin*, Capt. 1016, Ph. 568; *adnuistin*, St. 224; *audivistin* (*audistin*), Amph. 748, 752, Andr. 785, Ad. 539, Ph. 612; *aufugistin*, Eun. 851; *cenavistin*, Curc. 18; *convenistin*, Ps. 1079; *dedistine*, Trin. 129; *dixtin*, Most. 552, Eun. 792, Hec. 451; *emistin*, Trin. 124; *fuistin*, Capt. 628; *inconciliastin*, Trin. 136; *intellextin*, Andr. 201, Eun. 768; *iuravistin*, Ps. 352; *meministin*, Epid. 554, Asin. 333, Ps. 1089, Heaut. 626,

Ph. 224; *novistin*, *nostin*, Bacch. 837, Curc. 423, Epid. 503, Men. 748, Poen. 1121, Trin. 905, Ad. 177, 573, Eun. 328, 349, 351, 563, Heaut. 180, Ph. 63. Also alone, after a partial interruption by the speaker, Ad. 780, Eun. 405, Heaut. 527. *perdidistin*, Curc. 584; *promistin*, Curc. 709; *sensistin*, Hec. 316; *surrupustin*, Men. 507; *tetigistin*, Most. 457, 466; *valuistin*, Amph. 679, Curc. 16, St. 467, 586, Trin. 50; *vidistin*, Amph. 616, Merc. 720, Mil. 546, 533, St. 393, Ad. 400, Eun. 349, 713. Pl. 37, Ter. 26.

The following cases are conjectural, *ne* not being found in the MSS. *dedistin*, Curc. 345, *novistin*, Truc. 406, 726, *offirmastin*, Pers. 222, *promisistin*, Rud. 1384.

Beside these there are several places in which the MSS vary, some of which can be settled upon metrical grounds. In Trin. 420, A has *accepistin*, R³ Bx. *accepisti* with period. In Andr. 975, Heaut. 684, 731, Ph. 577 the MSS Call. have *audistin*, A *audisti*. In Aul. 171 the MSS have *novistin*, which is metrically impossible. In Andr. 441, where all but D have *nosti*, I should prefer *nostin*. Heaut. 884, Call. Dz. *nuntiastin*, A Umpf. *nuntiavisti*. Other cases where the metre decides for the omission of *ne* will be given below.

It will be seen that the MSS do not distinguish with certainty between forms with *ne* and those without it, nor does the metre afford help in all cases, especially where syncopated forms (*audisti nosti*) are possible. We must be satisfied here with a moderate degree of probability, and must depend for our text more upon metrical indications and the knowledge which can be obtained from similar passages, than upon the MSS.¹ As will be shown later, the cases where the MSS and the metre agree upon the second pers. perf. without *ne* at the beginning of a question are very few, not more than two or three.

¹ For example, in Trin. 127, 129, and 136 the MSS give *ne*. In 127 R³ and Bx. omit *ne* on the ground that *dedistin argentum?* would be "eine ruhig gehaltene und Antwort erwartende Frage" (Bx., and cf. Rit. Prolegg. CV. adn.) But Andr. 785, Most. 552, Ps. 352, and especially Most. 457, 466 show that the second pers. perf. with *ne* may be used in a highly emotional passage. Again, in Trin. 129 and 136 Bx. regards *ne* as used "im Sinne von *nonne*." There are only two passages, Eun. 792 and Ps. 352, where the second pers. perf. has clearly the sense of *nonne*; both are verbs of saying, both aoristic, and both challenge the hearer to acknowledge a past occurrence. While it seems presumptuous to differ from such a Plautine scholar as Brix, I cannot think that the sense of *nonne* is possible either in 129 or 136, and should much prefer to follow Bergk, Opusc. I, p. 619, and read *dedisti* (129) *inconciliasti illum* (136), making both declarative sentences.

These sentences are for the most part regular and unemotional questions, though they may be used without change of form, as may any question, to express emotion. See list in note. In two cases, Eun. 792, *dixtin*, and Ps. 352, *iuravistin*, they are used with an appeal in such a way as to give the sense of *nonne*, and there is a tendency to this effect in some cases of *meministin* and *nostin*. The large number of cases from Ter. is noteworthy; they are mostly verbs of saying and perceiving, in syncopated forms, *audistin*, *intellextin*, *meministin*, *nostin*, *sensistin*, *vidistin*.

Indicative perfect, third person.

accepitne, Bacch. 250; *caruitne*, Curc. 17; *convenitne*, Mil. 1105; *fuitne*, Capt. 633, Trin. 106; *habuitne*, Trin. 330; *peperitne*, Truc. 504; *rettulitne*, Asin. 444 (last word in sentence, and cf. 432, 436, 441); *venitne*, Bacch. 247, Truc. 931, Ps. 1067.

Pl. 11, Ter. 0.

Several of these, Trin. 106, Capt. 633, Truc. 931, have some *nonne* effect, though it is not absolutely necessary to take any of them so. They do not differ in form from the rest, which are questions for information.

Indicative pluperfect.

norasne, Eun. 698. Cf. Ad. 465.

Subjunctive present.

adeamne, Andr. 639; *aussimne*, Merc. 301; *loquarne*, Ph. 186; *maneamne*, Hec. 442; *possin* (*possisne*), Merc. 518. *experiarne*, Truc. 753, is an uncertain conjecture.

Pl. 2, Ter. 3.

The two cases from Pl. have the subjunct. for reasons apart from the interrogation. The cases from Ter. are, however, like those to be given later, in which the speaker asks for an imperative answer.

Subjunctive imperfect.

essetne, Capt. 714, Trin. 178; *iuberent*, Ps. 494. All conditional and all with the sense of *nonne*.

Subjunctive perfect.

noverisne, Trin. 952. Conditional.

Infinitive.

servirin tibi postulas viros? Men. 795. V. Bx. n.

These are all regular questions.

Compound Forms.

Future participle.

abiturun, Poen. 432; *daturin*, Most. 63 (MSS *daturi* with bad

hiatus), 604. Most. 605 has been discussed under *daturne. ituran*, Eun. 462. Andr. 751 reads in the MSS and Priscian *dicturan es quod rogo?* for which Bentley from metrical necessity reads *dictura*. While there seems to be no other way of healing the verse, it should be noticed that impv. questions elsewhere require *ne, etiam* or *non*. *missurun*, Cas. III 4, 20. Except Eun. 462 all have impv. effect.

Perfect participle.

loquitatusne es, Bacch. 803; *ratun es*, Mil. 558. *visun est*, Merc. 202, *visan est* Mil. 462. Epid. 495 is doubtful; A has *mercatun* or *-tum*, Goetz *mercatus* with B. These are all deponent, with past sense; the following are passives and seem to have a present sense, as if the ptcc. were adjj. *captusnest*, Pers. 644; *coctumnest*, Bacch. 716 (cf. Beck. 127); *nuptanest*, Bacch. 852.

Participle in *-dus*.

mirandumne, Hec. 661.

Pl. II [12], Ter. 2 [3].

B. *Ne* APPENDED TO PRONOUNS.

Arranged according to case and person of pronoun.

Egone.

(a). With the indicative. Amph. 747, *ex te audiui . . . || egon istuc dixi?* Amph. 743, Bacch. 806, Men. 389, 653, Merc. 761, Ph. 999. Truc. 959 is a very probable conjecture; Hec. 875 is against A and the metre; Mil. 882, read *quin*. Pl. 7, Ter. 1.

The verb is in all cases repeated from a preceding speech, and except in Truc. 959, Ph. 999 is in the perfect indic. These questions therefore reject or deny an assertion in regard to a past occurrence, by repeating the assertion in an exclamatory way. They are closely connected with the more numerous cases of repetition without *ne*, to be given hereafter. The pronoun is expressed and put first in order to emphasize the denial, as in English, "*I said that!*"

(b). With verb in the subjunctive. These are further subdivided according to the construction of the preceding sentence.

Following an imperative. Most. 633, *dic te daturum. || egon dicam dare?* || *dic*. Curc. 119, Pers. 188, Ps. 1327, Capt. 139, Andr. 384, Heaut. 1016. After an impv. subjunct., second sing. Bacch. 1190, Epid. 574. Truc. 276 is an uncertain conjecture.

Following *volo* with infin., or other phrase equivalent to an impv. Aul. 824, *nunc volo me emitti manu. || egon te emittam*

manu? Bacch. 1192 a, Curc. 10, 494, Mil. 685, 1276, Most. 301, Trin. 515, Truc. 312, 443 (Sch. *egone ut*; cf. Lang. Stud. p. 87), 775, And. 584, Eun. 153, Ph. 260, 431. The suggestion of an impv. is least distinct in Most. 301, *quor exprobras?* || *egone id exprobre* . . . ?

The repeated word is in the infin., depending upon some verb of general meaning. Ps. 290, . . . *surruperes patri*. || *egon patri surrupere possim quicquam?* So with *ausim*, Merc. 154, Most. 923, 924, Poen. 149; with *sinam*, Andr. 271, Hec. 852; *queam*, Andr. 270; *patiar*, Men. 559, Andr. 943.

With subjunctive.

Pl. 24, Ter. 10.

A full consideration of these questions must be postponed until the analogous forms without *ne* have been given; meanwhile it should be noted that all these cases differ from those with the indic. in that they repudiate the will or the power to do something, while the indic. denies a past occurrence. This appears from the fact that they repeat in an exclamatory way a command or suggestion, and from the frequent use of *possim*, *sinam*, *queam*, etc. The negative is *non*.

(c). *egone ut* with the subjunctive. Aul. 690, *egone ut te advorsum mentiar?* Asin. 884, Bacch. 196, 375, 489, Poen. 428, Rud. 1244, Truc. 441, twice (for 443 see above), Heaut. 784.

With verbs of general sense, as above. *patiar*, Asin. 810, Trin. 378, Truc. 758, Ph. 304; *putem*, Bacch. 637; *nequeam*, Ps. 516; *auderem*, Mil. 963.

Pl. 15, Ter. 2.

These are like the preceding except that they do not follow and repeat an impv. They have *non* for negative.

(d). *egone quid (quem)* with the subjunctive. Cas. I 1, 29, *quid tu mihi facies?* || *egone quid faciam tibi?* Eun. 191, Hec. 849. In Most. 556 all MSS give *quid nunc faciundum censes?* || *egon quid censeam?* and in Eun. 651 all but A have *quem quaeris, Pythias?* || *ehem Phaedria. egon quem quaeram?* I should preserve the reading in both cases. Pl. 1 [2], Ter. 2 [3].

As the preceding classes deny a fact or repudiate a command or suggestion, these repeat in an exclamatory way a preceding question, and suggest that the question is absurd. There is no negative used with them.

(e). *egon* without verb. With the pronoun may be used a few words repeated from the preceding sentence. Asin. 899, *ecquid matrem amas?* || *egone illam?* Asin. 609, Cas. II 3, 27, Merc. 317, 323, Mil. 1139, Truc. 898, And. 504, Eun. 65, 757.

egone alone, answered by *tune, tu istic, tu ipsus*, or unanswered. Capt. 857, *tule facias* . . . || *egone ?* || *tune*. Amph. 575, Cas. II 3, 49, V 4, 13, Epid. 575, Mil. 439, Men. 651, 937, Most. 634, 955, Ps. 723, St. 635, Trin. 634, Truc. 586, Hec. 214, Ph. 504.

When *egone* follows a question, it is itself followed by an answer to the question. Poen. 333, *quo te agis ?* || *egone ? in aedem Veneris*. Curc. 664, Men. 162, Most. 1014, Rud. 1272, Heaut. 608, 740, 945, Eun. 101, 305, 778, 1026, Ph. 57, 938. (An answer or retort follows also in some of the cases above, Asin. 899, 609, Eun. 757.) In these the repudiating tone is lowered to a slight surprise that the question should have been asked. This less emotional use is more common in Ter. than in Pl. Without verb, Pl. 26, Ter. 14.

Leaving for future consideration the relation of these sentences to other forms, the use of *ut* and the mood, we may notice here that the pronoun is really, though slightly, emphatic in all cases. As in English, this slight emphasis confines the repudiation to the speaker's own conduct, as if he said "What may have happened I don't know, but I had nothing to do with it." This is the reason why in so many cases the verb is omitted; the action is indifferent, and the speaker is concerned only with his own connection with it.

The idea of repudiation or rejection, which has led some German grammarians to call *egone ut* and, e. g. *egon dicam* "unwillige oder missbilligende Fragen," is not confined to *egone* with the subjunctive, but appears more or less distinctly in all questions with *egone*. When *egone* without verb follows a question (after a question, except with *quid*, the verb is always omitted), this rejection amounts only to a slight wonder that the question should be asked, and these cases approach questions for information. Otherwise *egone* never asks for information and is never, in meaning, a genuine question. It has the verb late in the sentence, repeats the words or idea of the other speaker, and is nothing more than an exclamatory repetition, to which the interrogative particle has been prefixed.

Tune.

These resemble questions with *egone*, having only those variations which necessarily result from the different person.

(a). With the indicative. There is greater variety of tense and usage than with *egone*. Present tense, Merc. 305, *amo*. || *tun*

capite cano amas . . . ? Capt. 572, Men. 305, Rud. 1399 Sch., St. 326 twice, Truc. 609, Andr. 910, Hec. 549.

With *es*, Curc. 419, . . . *istum quem quaeris ego sum*. || *quaeso, tun is es ?* Asin. 57, Capt. 1021, Cist. 390 Uss., Epid. 556, 641, Men. 1079, Ps. 607, 978, 1010, 1143, Rud. 1055, 1377, Trin. 635 (MSS *tu* and so Bx. Krit. Anh., on ground that *tun* would be unemotional. But cf. Rud. 1377). Hec. 803 is a conjecture of Bentley, correct in form, but departing somewhat widely from the MSS. Pl. 20 [21], Ter. 2 [3].

These partake of the nature of exclamatory repetitions in that the idea has always been expressed or implied before. With other verbs wonder and incredulity are also expressed, but with *es* the emotion is less, amounting generally to nothing more than doubt, which the speaker desires to have removed. But the order of the sentence and the fact of repetition seem to connect these questions with exclamatory repetitions.

(b). With verbs of saying and feeling, in the present tense. Most. 331, *madet homo*. || *tun me ais ma- ma- madere ?* Aul. 137, Capt. 571, Mil. 366, Men. 820, Truc. 586. *audes*, Amph. 373, 565, 566, Bacch. 1163, Men. 738, Poen. 271, 1310, Rud. 734. *autumas*, Bacch. 822. *dicis*, Amph. 758. *loquere*, Asin. 477. *memoras*, Capt. 577. *negas*, Amph. 758, Men. 630, 821. (The MSS give *tun* in 630, *tu* in 821; Bx.³ *tu* in both, *v.* note and Krit. Anh. on 630.) *nominas*, Bacch. 253. *postulas*, Amph. 361, Rud. 709 (Sch. *i huc*). *praedicas*, Men. 515. *vituperas*, Aul. 325, Curc. 192. *vocas*, Curc. 191. *iubes*, Ad. 924. Pl. 27, Ter. 1.

As in the preceding classes, these refer to something which has just been said, only instead of repeating the verb, the general effect of the sentence is summed up in the single word, *vituperas*, *negas*, *nominas*. When the verb requires a complement (*ais*, *postulas*, *vocas*), it usually has the verb of the preceding sentence in the infin.

(c). Other tenses of the indicative show no peculiarity, except that they also are more exclamatory than interrogative. Imperfect, Hec. 340, Eun. 86, Ph. 945 (all *tun hic (is) eras ?* to express surprise at the unexpected appearance of some person). Future, Asin. 104, Rud. 748. Pluperfect, Ph. 613. Perfect, Amph. 717, Mil. 368, 494, Most. 369, Ps. 625, 1177, St. 373, Trin. 1179, Ad. 638. Perhaps also Andr. 742, as this is entirely like other cases with the perf. Rit. Dz. read *tu*. Cist. I 1, 88 should be *tu en umquam*. Most. 593 is entirely uncertain. Pl. 10, Ter. 5 [6].

There is an evident advance between Pl. and Ter. in using other tenses than the pres.

(d). With the subjunctive. Asin. 628, (*volo*) *hunc . . . verberare*. || *tun verberes, qui pro cibo habeas verberari?* Asin. 700, Aul. 756, Cas. I 1, 23, Mil. 497, Pers. 135, 295, And. 910, Eun. 808. These follow expressions of will or intention, *volo*, *sine* and the future, and reject the idea as do questions with *egone* and the present subjunct.

The imperfect is used in condition Ph. 932, and the perfect Amph. 818.

Pl. 8, Ter. 3.

(e). *tune* without verb. Asin. 230, Merc. 158, 888, Mil. 290 (*tutin*), Ps. 939, Ad. 127, Heaut. 343, Hec. 862. These are entirely similar to *egone* without verb. Three, Asin. 230, Merc. 158, Heaut. 343, follow a question and are followed by a brief answer.

Pl. 5, Ter. 3.

Questions with *tune* are in several ways less distinctly marked than questions with *egone*. In many cases the emphasis of *tu* is plain, in others it is less evident. It is easy to see that *ain tu* with infin. is less emotional than *tun ais*, and there is perhaps a distinction between *tun negas?* and *negas?* but it is not so clear with *tune* as with *egone* how the expression of the pronoun helps to make the question emotional.¹ In the large majority of cases, however, the pronoun is emphatic by contrast. Merc. 305, *amo*. || *tun capite cano amas?* means, "You, a grey-haired man, in love! (I could understand it in a young man, but not in you.)"

The idea of rejection or repudiation, also, while it runs through the various forms of question with *tune*, is subject to exceptions. All questions with *es* express a hesitating desire for confirmation of the previous statement. This is true even of Ps. 1177, *tune solitus es*. Men. 1079, *tun meo patre's prognatus?* Rud. 1377 and Trin. 635 are the only cases which decidedly reject.

Yet the reference to the preceding sentence, the emphasis upon the pronoun, the late position of the verb and the idea of repudia-

¹ It seems probable that the tone of many forms of question is somewhat affected by the omission or expression of the personal pronoun, but it is impossible to reduce these phenomena to any law without including declarative sentences. With the two general principles that the pronoun is expressed for emphasis, and that it may perhaps be expressed or omitted to help out the metre, we do not advance very far. This subject, with the allied question of the uses of *hic*, *iste* and *ille*, in which Plautus seems almost capricious, would well repay investigation.

tion are so distinct in the large majority of cases that it seems necessary to regard questions with *tune* as exclamatory repetitions, like those with *egone*.

Personal pronouns in other cases than the nominative.

men (acc.) *men rogas*? Men. 614, Epid. 98, Heaut. 246. In Merc. 633, Mil. 426 read *me rogas*. V. Bx. Anh. Other verbs, Cist. II 3, 53, Men. 786, 1050, Cas. II 6, 29, III 5, 38, Capt. 121, Bacch. 783, Epid. 139, Poen. 399, Ad. 543, And. 908, Ph. 448. In Mil. 403 read *me . . . arbitror*. The leading verb is always in the indic., but *me* sometimes depends upon an infin. or dependent subjunctive. *men* without verb, St. 254, Trin. 69, Andr. 450, Eun. 279, Heaut. 564, Hec. 692, 748.

mene (abl.), Poen. 368.

mein (gen.), St. 334.

mihin with verb, Curc. 571, Men. 868, Ps. 472, Trin. 957. Truc. 741 is entirely conjectural. Without verb, Curc. 422, St. 635, Truc. 935 (MSS *mihi*), Andr. 476, 500, 849, 850, Hec. 523, Ph. 506. Ph. 1047, 1048 are doubtful. Pl. 22, Ter. 15 [17].

ten. With the indic., Rud. 235. With the present subjunctive, Asin. 94, *me defraudato*. || . . . *ten ego defraudem*, . . . ? Asin. 700, 669, 697. In Truc. 276 by conjecture to fill out the vs. Ps. 371, Ph. 339, with infin. are given later. These are all rejecting questions like *egon dicam*. Without verb, Merc. 504, Eun. 218.

tibine, Pers. 721, Eun. 577, Heaut. 102, Most. 925.

nosne, Andr. 804. *vosne*, St. 132, 135. Pl. 11, Ter. 4.

Possessive pronouns with *ne*.

meus, with verb, Bacch. 842, Capt. 853, Curc. 616, Rud. 839, Truc. 612, 925. Without verb, Curc. 357, Ph. 198. (Mil. 488 will be given with other infin. questions.)

noster, Trin. 512, Ad. 330.

tuos, with verb, Capt. 845, Pers. 338, 747. Also cf. Men. 792, given below, IV H. Without verb, Epid. 688, Ad. 400. As predicate of *esse*, Eun. 428, Rud. 1361, 1052, 1054. In the last two Sch. omits *ne*, and so MSS in 1054. These questions with *esse* are regular and unemotional.

suos, Andr. 932. On Most. 254 v. Lor. Anh. Pl. 16, Ter. 4.

The forms of question with possessive pronouns are similar to those with the personal pronouns, not, as might perhaps be expected, to adjectives. They have a strong tone of repudiation, because they repeat in an exclamatory way what the other person has just said. They use the same classes of verbs, *audes*, *censes*,

etc. The following have the subjunct. as with *egone* : Bacch. 842 (with *ut*), Truc. 925, Curc. 616 (with *ut*), Pers. 747, 338.

Demonstrative pronouns.

hicine. With verb in indic., either as subject, object or in other construction. Most. 10, *em, hocine volebas?* Amph. 514, Asin. 128, Bacch. 447, Most. 25, 26, 27, 508, Rud. 188 (2), Trin. 186, Heaut. 1029, Ad. 237, 709, Hec. 282, 283, 70, Ph. 1012, 1013. With *ut* and the subj., Eun. 771, Ph. 955, 992.

With *est* and infin. in predicate. Merc. 356, *hocinest amare?* Asin. 508, Truc. 893. With verbal adjunct. or phrase, Andr. 236 (twice), 625.

With *est* and proper noun or some definite phrase in predicate. Amph. 362, *haecine tua domust?* Merc. 753, Mil. 61, Pers. 545, 844, 845, Poen. 1166, Andr. 907, Hec. 771.

hicinest without predicate can be used only where the antecedent has just been mentioned. Epid. 621, Pers. 544, 830, Rud. 1143.

These two forms with *est* are unemotional and for information. Of course *hicine* is emphatic.

hicine alone, Epid. 574, Truc. 959, Ph. 509.

The adverbs *hicine*, *hucine* are found Aul. 335, Cist. I 1, 20, IV 2, 80, Mil. 181, St. 621, Trin. 1079, Truc. 359, 719, Ad. 183, in uses similar to those of the pronoun.

In non-interrogative sentences *hicine* occurs Epid. 73, 541, Mil. 309, Ad. 304, 379, 758, Andr. 478. See Professor Warren "On the enclitic *ne* in early Latin," Amer. Journ. of Philol., II 50-82.

Except the questions with *est*, *hicine* regularly introduces a rejecting exclamation. The only doubtful cases are Most. 508, perhaps Most. 10, and Ritschl's conjecture in Men. 1139. For the last Bx. and MSS have *hanc*, which is better.

hicine (the pron.) Pl. 27, Ter. 17.

isticine, in similar uses, Asin. 932, Merc. 620, Ps. 83, 847, Rud. 110 (adv.), Ad. 732, Eun. 830.

illicine, Ps. 954, Truc. 599, Heaut. 199 (MSS *illene*).

isne, Capt. 987, Cist. 288 Uss., Curc. 82, Epid. 107, 518, Merc. 598, Mil. 532, 534, St. 327, Andr. 629, Ad. 939, Eun. 415, Heaut. 616. With subjunct. Trin. 961, Andr. 263.

Other pronominal forms are *illamne*, Merc. 203; *illumne*, Eun. 356; *illine*, Ps. 205 G.; *ipsusne*, Trin. 987, 988; *ipson*, Trin. 902; *nullumne*, Capt. 154; *nullamne*, Heaut. 1006; *nullon*, Bacch. 479, Andr. 247; *nullan*, St. 260, Truc. 285; *nemon*, Hec. 323, Ph. 152; *nilne*, Amph. 933, *nilne te pudet?* same, Amph. Fragm. VIII,

Pers. 424, and by conjecture Truc. 764; with other verbs, Bacch. 315, Ps. 78, 308 (*miseret*), Truc. 542, Ad. 528. Without verb, Andr. 435. *eademne*, Bacch. 422, Amph. 805 (MSS om. *ne*); *tantumne*, Heaut. 75, Hec. 813; *tanton*, Trin. 609, 686 (MSS om. *ne*). Other forms will be given with infin., under V. B.

Pl. 38, Ter. 17.

With certain limitations, already noted in part, all pronominal questions with *ne* have the characteristics which have been pointed out in *egone* questions. They refer backward, taking up some previous idea, which may have been distinctly expressed or merely implied, and repeating it in an exclamatory way, so as to suggest that it is untenable. They use frequently a class of words which will reappear again in questions without a particle, *vis*, *audes*, *rogas*, *censes*, *postulas*, *ais*, and they have often the subjunctive with or without *ut* after an impv. or other expression of willing.

The limitations are these: sentences with *est* are regularly for information, when they are asked about some definite person or thing, especially something on the stage. Pronouns used alone (*egone*? *tune*? *hicine*?) are not asked for information and are exclamatory, but they do not necessarily express rejection. Especially after questions they indicate only doubt or mild surprise. Further, the pronouns which approach adjectives most nearly, e. g. *nullus*, *tantus*, *idem*, seem to have the least rejecting force, and sometimes lack it entirely.

The explanation which has been suggested in regard to the rejecting tone of *egone* questions applies also to questions with demonstrative pronouns. It is the contrast, expressed by the emphatic pronoun, between the statement made and some evident characteristic of the speaker or some well-known fact, which helps the exclamation to take on a tone of repudiation. *egone istuc dixi*? "I said that! It must have been some one else." *tun capite cano amas*? "You, an old man, in love! Leave that to boys." *hocinest humanum factum*? "Is *this* what you call humanity?" "Is *this* credible?" and so on. In every case there is an almost violent emphasis upon the pronoun, which combined with the fact that the whole sentence is exclamatory in form and tone, produces the repudiating effect. It is plain that the mood has nothing to do with it.

C. NOUNS WITH *ne* APPENDED.

As these present no difficulties or peculiarities, it is not worth while to give full lists. The word which has *ne* is emphatic and therefore stands at the beginning of the sentence.

With a verb Pl. has 19 cases (Poen. 730, Pers. 26 with subjunct. Bacch. 151, 629 with infin.) Ter. has 4 (Andr. 609 with infin.)

Without a verb Pl. has Epid. 30, Most. 972 (BCD om. *ne*). In Cas. II 5, 10 (214 Gepp.), Trin. 375, Truc. 805, Rud. 237 *ne* has been added to a noun to help out the metre. This is a large number of conjectures to rest upon a basis of two cases, and the usage of Pl. is strongly against the addition of *ne*. Cas. II 5, 10 and Rud. 237 are especially unlikely, nor is Truc. 805 satisfactory. Ter. uses a noun without verb more freely, 9 times in all. This corresponds to the more frequent use of pronouns (*hicine, egone*) without verb in Ter.

Pl. 21 [25], Ter. 13.

D. ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES WITH *ne*.

Questions of this form are also for the most part regular. The adj. is generally in the nomin., either subject or predicate. Of other cases Pl. has only *bonan fide* (three times), *bellan specie*, *pro lignean salute* (Ps. 47. So BC, Rit., Lor., but it is at least unusual), *tribusne*, *alienon*, *omnene* (acc.), *omnian* (acc.) twice. Ter. has *pro certon*, *multon*, *rufamne*, *duasne*, *binan*, *bonan*.

In the nomin. Pl. has *alienus*, *certum* (7), *dives*, *dignus*, *expectatus*, *insanus*, *malus*, *molestus*, *parum*, *sanus* (16), *relictus*, *tenax*, *verus*. Ter. has *certum*, *dubium*, *parum*, *sanus* (twice), *salva*.

It is noticeable that Ter. does not use the phrases *sanun es?* and *certumne est?* which are so frequent in Pl.; *esne, estne* with predicate adj. Pl. uses very seldom (*v. supra*) and only when the adj. is clearly unemphatic.

Pl. 44, Ter. 12.

If the two phrases with *sanun* and *certumne* are subtracted, it appears that here as in many other ways Ter. shows a tendency toward more varied forms of question than are used by Pl.

E. ADVERBS WITH *ne*.

The adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns have been given in connection with the pronouns. *iamne, etiamne, sicine* are so frequently used as to need separate treatment.

adeon. Andr. 277, 278, 469, 757, Hec. 547, Ph. 1040. The

other cases have the infin. and will be given below. These have the indic., and it is a confirmation of the explanation already given of questions with pronouns that *adeon*, which is of course demonstrative, gives the same rejecting tone which has been noticed in pronominal questions with *ne*.

Other adverbs are *advorsum* (here governing acc.), *bene* (3), *certo* without verb (2), with verb (1), *certe* without verb (2), with verb (1), see Langen, Beitr. p. 30. *facile*, *hodie*, *ilico*, *itidem*, *male*, *modo* (2, both Ter.), *numquam* (2), *nunc* (*nuncin*), *perpetue*, *plane*, *potius* (St. 698. MSS om. *ne* and are otherwise confused), *prius* (2 with *quam*), *recte*, *serio*, *tam* (*tamine*), *vero* (3), *usque* (2), *salve* (3), St. 8, Men. 776 (twice), for all of which Rit. reads *salvae*. V. Bx. on Trin. 1177. Pl. 29, Ter. 13.

sicine is remarkable only for the fact that, like other strongly demonstrative words, the questions which it introduces are all repudiating. It is found (beside the cases with infin.) Asin. 127, Cist. I 1, 115, II 3, 39, Merc. 158, Poen. 386, 512, Ps. 320, 1246, Rud. 251, 884, Ad. 128, Eun. 99, 804, Heaut. 166, 691.

Pl. 10, Ter. 5.

iamne. With verb in the first pers. pres. indic. Curc. 132, *iamne dico?* || *quid dices?* Curc. 214, Cas. II 8, 67 (II 6, 64 is uncertain), Mil. 1400, Eun. 492. All these except Curc. 214, the verb of which is passive, have future sense and expect an impv. answer.

With the pres. indic. second pers. Pl. uses only three forms: (a) *iamne abis?* "are you going so soon?" not as Geppert (Rud. 496, 584 Sch.) renders, "fort mit dir!" Men. 441, Most. 991, Pers. 50, Ps. 380, Poen. 678 (*itis*), Rud. 584, Truc. 919 (MSS om. *ne*); (b) *iamne (autem) ut soles?* "are you still at your old tricks?" Aul. 819, Bacch. 203, Poen. 1410, Truc. 695; (c) *iamne hoc tenetis (scitis)?* "do you get the idea at last?" Amph. 485, Poen. 116, Capt. 10 (MSS om. *ne*), all in prologue. Ter. uses second sing. pres. only in Ad. 186, *iamne me vis dicere* . . .?

Also *fert* Curc. 50, *licet* Eun. 550, *comessurus es* Ps. 1126. In the perf. indic. second and third pers., Cas. III 3, 15, 16, IV 2, 15, IV 4, 13, Men. 333, 550, 876, Merc. 791, St. 251, 632, Truc. 634, Ad. 236, Eun. 914, Heaut. 848, Ph. 816. Rud. 1369 is doubtful.

The distinction between *iam* in the meaning "so soon, already" and in the meaning "so late, at last" does not affect the form of the question; cf. St. 632 with Men. 550. See also below, IV E.

Pl. 31, Ter. 7.

etiamne. Cf. Becker, p. 176 f., Langen, Beitr. 160-161, and see below on *etiam*.

In most cases *etiam* has its ordinary sense. Without time-force, i. e. meaning "also," "even," "again," Amph. 760, Asin. 40, Aul. 304, Bacch. 274, 567, Cas. III 5, 50, Merc. 751, Most. 272, Poen. 281, Ps. 1178, Rud. 1275 (the second case is doubtful. MSS *etiam*, Cam. *etiamne*, Sch. *anne*), 1277, Eun. 143, Heaut. 742, Ph. 238. With meaning "still," "yet," Most. 522 (Lor.² compares 851), Cas. III 6, 8, Men. 710, Rud. 846, Ph. 774. Aul. 55 is useless.

In sentences equivalent to an impv. *etiamne* is found Men. 697, Most. 937, 938, Poen. 431, Rud. 467. Also with the first plu. *etiamne imus* . . . ? Cas. V 4, 8, like *iam* with first person in fut. sense, expecting an impv., and so approaching the sense of *eamus*.

Pl. 22, Ter. 4.

F. *itane*.

Langen has discussed *ita* very fully in his Beiträge, pp. 210 f., 231 ff., 330 f., the last on *itane*. I have little to add. The passages are as follows:

(a). *itane* ? alone, referring backward to what has been said. Mil. 1278, Pers. 291, Eun. 1058, Heaut. 887, Ph. 542. *itane vero* ? Curc. 725, Mil. 844, Rud. 971. With a question following, Merc. 918, 567, Truc. 292, Rud. 747, Ph. 392.

(b). With a verb, referring backward, and so having a definite standard of comparison. Most. 72 L², Pers. 220 (twice), Mil. 66, 1120, Men. 948, Poen. 557, 660 (474 is a conjecture to fill out the vs.), Andr. 399, 909, Eun. 76, 1018, Heaut. 562, 948, Hec. 418, 847, Ph. 427, 527, 968.

(c). *itane* is followed by a clause of result which gives the standard of comparison. Bacch. 477, Trin. 642, Andr. 243, 492, 916, Eun. 240. Andr. 492 (twice) also refers backward, thus forming a connecting link between this class and the preceding.

(d). Thus far the reference of *ita* is distinct; there remain several cases, all in Ter., where the standard of comparison is so indefinite that *itane* seems to have become weakened into a mere interrogative particle. This use has no parallel in declarative sentences. Langen mentions Andr. 926, *itane vero obturbat* ? I should add Ph. 536, *itane hunc patiemur*, Geta, *feri miserum*, . . . ? (*ita* does not go with *miserum*) and Ph. 315, *itane patris ais adventum veritum hinc abisse* ? Ph. 231 would also come in the

same class, but might better be punctuated *itane tandem ? uxorem duxit Antipho iniussu meo ?* In this way I should punctuate Ph. 413 and Heaut. 954. Also Andr. 643 should be *inprudens . . . || itane ? imprudens ?* Andr. 803, in aposiopesis, appears to be another case of weakened *ita*. It is possible that all these cases are analogous to the paratactic use of *ita*, discussed by Langen, p. 231 ff.

Itane with infin. twice.

In all Pl. 19, Ter. 30.

G. *satine*.

See Brix on Trin. 925, Capt. 446, Men. 184 and Lor. Most.² 76.

The main distinction is between uses which have parallels in declarative sentences, retaining something of the original sense of *satis*, and uses in which the original sense seems almost or wholly lost, and which have no parallels in declarative sentences.

(a). *satis* retains its original sense, and the questions are frequently answered by *satis*.

With *est*, Men. 621, *satin hoc est tibi ?* Men. 655, Ph. 210, 211, 683, 1047.

With *habes* or *est* and conditional clause. Amph. 509, *satin habes, si feminarum nullast quam aequae diligam ?* Bacch. 911, Capt. 446, Mil. 1173, Most. 389, Ps. 112, Ph. 856.

With adjectives. *sanus*, Amph. 604, *satin tu sanus es ? || sic sum ut vides*. Cas. II 2, 34, Merc. 682, Men. 510, Trin. 454, Ad. 937, Andr. 749, Eun. 559, Heaut. 707, 986, Ph. 802; *certum*, Cist. II 1, 33, Ad. 329; *plana et certa*, Pers. 183; *morigera*, Cas. V 2, 19.

With adverbs. Amph. 578, *satin hoc plane, satin diserte esse, ere, nunc videor tibi locutus ?*

astute. Cas. II 8, 52; *lepide*, Cas. V 2, 53; *plane*, Trin. 1071; *recte*, Men. 736 (cf. Bacch. 509), Andr. 804; *salve*, Trin. 1177, Eun. 978; *sincere*, Epid. 634 (disjunctive); *ex sententia*, Pers. 18, Ph. 256.

With perfect participles, Bacch. 1202, Capt. 638, Merc. 495, Mil. 574, 1173, Pers. 465, St. 517, Eun. 208.

With verbs. *audis*, Men. 602, *satin audis quae illic loquitur ? || satis*. (Ps. 166 is cut out by Usener, Lor., Langen); *cerno*, Poen. 1299; *habes* (= *tenes*, *intellegis*, not as above with *si*) Most. 831; *intellegis*, Most. 650, Poen. 171; *meministi et tenes*, Pers. 183; *tenes*, Pers. 305; *scis*, Ad. 402; *valuisti*, Pers. 23.

The parallels to these may be found in any lexicon. *sat est*

(Asin. 329), *sat habeo* (Most. 654), *satis dives* (Aul. 166), *satis audacter* (Amph. 838), *satis cum periculo* (And. 131), *neque audio neque oculis prospicio satis* (Amph. 1059) may suffice for Pl. and Ter., and the list might be indefinitely extended.

In the examples given there is a gradual weakening of meaning, owing, as in *ita*, to a lowering of the standard of comparison in *satis*. From "enough for this definite purpose or occasion," it comes to mean "enough for practical purposes," "enough for ordinary occasions," "well enough." We have the same tendency illustrated in the Engl. "enough" and perhaps more clearly in "quite," as used in America. With this loss of definite standard there goes also a loss of definite construction in the sentence; *satis* affects the whole sentence rather than any single word in it.

(b). Uses which have no parallel in declarative sentences. Most. 76, *satin abiit, neque quod dixi flocci existumat?* Amph. 633, Bacch. 1200 (punctuate *satin, affirmatum quod mihi erat, id me exorat?*), Capt. 653, Cas. II 4, 24, III 4, 8, Cist. I 3, 2, Uss. period, Epid. 664, Men. 522, Merc. 337, Mil. 393, 481, 999, Poen. 919, Ps. 1316, Rud. 462, 1193, Trin. 925, 1013, Truc. 553. Some of these have a clause with *si, ut* or the rel. pron. between *satin* and the verb, but these should be carefully distinguished from *satin si* or *satin ut* questions. All have the indicative, present or perfect; only one, Trin. 553, is in second pers., addressed by the speaker to himself; all are in soliloquy.

satin ut with the indic. Mil. 1134, *satin ut commoditas usquequaque me adiuvat?* Men. 181, Merc. 481, Pers. 658, St. 271. In Bacch. 491 the subjunct. is the indefinite second person. These are not, like the preceding, in soliloquy, and are in the second and third persons.

As the lines which separate these two classes are necessarily indefinite, there remain some cases about which one cannot be certain. Bacch. 509 (cf. Epid. 634), Men. 945, Ps. 194, Pers. 549 I should place, with some hesitation, in the first class, on the ground that they (except Bacch. 509) are not in soliloquy, and that they might possibly have parallel declarative uses. If this is correct, they illustrate well the weakening of sense and generalizing of construction of *satis*. The same is true of Eun. 851, and perhaps of Ph. 636, which comes nearer to *satin abiit* than any other case in Ter. Most. 1109, Ps. 935 are indirect; cf. also Most. 166, 254, 282, and Becker, 140, 167-8. In Men. 478 read *satur*. Ps. 1204 has *non* in MSS.

In these questions the weakening of *satis* has gone still further, until the original idea of a standard of comparison is wholly lost, and *satis* has come to mean "really, actually," a sense which comes easily from, e. g. *satis scio*. In this meaning it was peculiarly fitted for questions in which the speaker expressed his amazement at some occurrence, something so strange that he could hardly believe that it had actually taken place. In the same way I understand that *satin ut* questions arose when *satin* was so weakened as to be little more than a particle. The *ut* I should take to be exclamatory. So Dahl, *die Lat. Partikel ut*, p. 15.

A different explanation of questions with *satin* is given by Lorenz in the excellent note on Most.³ 76. He says "*satin abiit?* enstand aus *satisne est? abiit?* 'Ist es nicht genug? (Ist das Mass nicht voll?) Ging er fort?' = 'Ging er denn wirklich fort?'" With this view of the origin of *satin abiit* I cannot agree, for the following reasons: (1). *satin est?* is never used without a definite subject, *hoc*, *id* or a clause. (2). The suggestion in the words "ist das Mass nicht voll?" or, as Brix puts it on Trin. 925, "ist es nicht genug um mich zum *male dicere* zu bringen?" seems at first sight to suit the complaining tone extremely well, but it does not meet such a case as Rud. 1193, *satin*, . . ., *aliquo illud pacto optingit optatum piis?* Nor, I think, should the verb be in the present. (3). The verb of the (supposed) second question would, when the two questions became one, stand near *satin*, not at the end of the sentence as it generally does.

The analogy between *itane* and *satin* is a close one. In both there is a gradual loss of definite standard of measurement, so that they become at last a form of interrogative particle. It is remarkable that *itan* should be used in this way so largely by Ter. and not at all by Pl., while *satin* is so used by Pl. and only once or twice, if at all, by Ter. It should be noticed also that *itane* is seldom or never used in soliloquy, the weakened *satin* always; that *itane* is often used alone, but *satin* is never so used.

satin est and *satin habes* sometimes approach *nonne satis est*, *habes*, but *satin* is never equal to *nonne* as Brix on Trin. 925 says.

Pl. 69, Ter. 19.

H. *potin*.

Divided according to the form of the dependent clause.

(a). *potin ut* with the subjunctive. Amph. 903, *potin ut abstineas manum?* Bacch. 751, Men. 466, Merc. 495, 890, Mil.

926, Most. 396, Pers. 175, Ps. 235, 264, 393, 940, 942, Poen. 916, Rud. 425, Trin. 628, Ad. 539.

In these *potis* is impersonal, as the answer *potest* shows.

(b). *potin ut . . . ne*, with subjunct. Epid. 63, *potin ut molestus ne sies*? The same, sometimes with *mihi*, Men. 606, Merc. 779, Pers. 287, Truc. 897. With other verbs, Bacch. 751, Merc. 441.

(c). *potin ne*, Pers. 175, *potin ne moneas*?

(d). *potin* with the subjunctive. Pers. 297, *potin abeas*? The same, Cas. III 6, 10.

These are all impersonal, that is, *potin* is for *potestne*, a form which Pl. does not use, and the dependent verb is in the second pers. pres. subjunct. The use of *ne* for the negative and the corresponding constructions in declarative sentences, e. g. Bacch. 35, Ps. 633, show that this is a substantive clause, such as is used after many impersonal phrases. In *potin abeas*, without *ut*, we have the earliest paratactic form of the construction. Pl. 26, Ter. 1.

(e). *potin* with infin. Curc. 246, *potin coniecturam facere, . . .*? Cist. 238 (Uss.) from Gell. VI (VII) 7, 3, Poen. 309, 1089, Trin. 759, Andr. 437, Eun. 101. Pl. 5, Ter. 2.

These are personal for *potesne* and are answered sometimes by *possum*. *tu* is expressed Poen. 1089, Cist. 238. The number does not quite warrant the statement of Draeger II² 269 that this construction is "sehr selten bei den beiden Komikern."

To the cases above should be added Curc. 200, *potine fieri ut . . . modereris . . .*? an early conjecture for *hocine* of MSS. It is without parallel in Pl. or Ter.

In all these cases the subordinate clause expresses something easy to do, passivity or non-interference, *abeas*, *taceas*, *abstineas*, *sinas*, *molestus ne sis*. In immediate connection with this *potin* has a strongly sarcastic effect. Instead of "Let me alone!" the speaker says with elaborate formality "Is it possible for you to let me alone?" This sarcastic effect is undoubtedly the reason why Pl. has made such large use of the phrase.

The answer may be either to the form, *potest*, *possum*, or to the substance; cf. Poen. 916, *potin ut taceas*? || *taceo et abeo*; cf. *quid agitur*? || *statur*.

Second Paper.

I. *nonne*.

The theory that *nonne* was not used by Pl. was proposed by A. Spengel, *Die Partikel "nonne" im Altlateinischen*, Progr. München, 1867. His grounds are three: First, as "*ne* = *nonne*" and *non* express sufficiently all shades of negative questioning, *nonne* would be superfluous. Second, it is *a priori* probable that the copyists changed *non* in some cases into *nonne*, and this accounts for the cases where *nonne* is given in the MSS. Third, the cases given are all but one before a vowel. This one is metrically incorrect, and the demands of sense and metre are satisfied by *non* wherever *nonne* occurs.

These arguments are answered in detail by Schrader, *de particularum -ne, anne, nonne apud Plautum prosodia*, pp. 42-46. First, the early and colloquial Latin is full of double and triple expressions for practically identical ideas, e.g. *rogas? me rogas? men rogas? tun rogas?* Moreover, there must have been a time when "*ne* = *nonne*" and *non* were still in use, while *nonne* was beginning to crowd in by the side of them. The only question is whether this had already begun in the time of Pl. Second, not only *nonne* but *anne* also is found in Pl. only before vowels. The explanation of this fact must apply to both cases, not, as does Spengel's, to *nonne* alone, and is to be found in the very light effect of *-nē*, which caused its shortening in nearly all possible cases to *-n*. See the evidence in Schrader, especially the table on p. 37, showing the preference of Pl. for *ne* before vowels. Omitting words ending in *s*, there are in Pl. only 28 cases where *ne* both follows and precedes a vowel. Schrader gives a full list of the passages where the MSS support *nonne*, which need not be repeated here. Ter. uses it in Ad. 660, Andr. 238, 239, 647, 869, Eun. 165, 334, 736, Heaut. 545, 922, Hec. 552, Ph. 768.

The distinction in sense between *non* and *nonne*, which Kühner, II 1011, 1, attempts to make, is valueless for Pl. and Ter., at least.

K. RELATIVES WITH *ne*.

See Lor., Most.² 738, Brix, Trin.³ 360, Spengel, Andr. 768, Warren on *ne*, Amer. Journ. Philol. II, pp. 79-80.

Relatives with *ne* divide themselves into two classes, according as the antecedent is or is not expressed in the same sentence.

(a). The antecedent is not expressed. Most. 738, *ventus navem*

nostram deseruit. || quid est? quo modo? || pessumo. || quaene subducta erat tuto in terram? Curc. 705, . . . *ne quisquam a me argentum auferat. || quodne promisti? || promisi? qui?* Similar to these are Amph. 697, Epid. 719, Mil. 13, Rud. 861, 1019, 1231, Truc. 506, Andr. 768, Ph. 923. The following have the subjunctive in the relative clause, independently of the question, but are otherwise like the preceding: Bacch. 332, Merc. 573, Mil. 973 (MSS *quae*), Trin. 360. In Epid. 449 *quemne* is an early conjecture for *nempe quem*, adopted on metrical grounds.

Here belong also a few cases with other relative words. Bacch. 257, *dei quattuor scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum. || quamne Archidemidem? || quam, inquam, Archidemidem.* Most. 1132, *ego ibo pro te, si tibi non lubet. || verbero, etiam inrides? || quian me pro te ire ad cenam autumo?* Also with *quiane* Pers. 851. Truc. 696 is a very probable emendation by Spengel.

With these go the few cases of *utin*.¹ Rud. 1063, *animum advorte ac tace. || utin istic prius dicat?* Merc. 576, *tu ausculere mulierem? utine adveniens vomitum excutias mulieri?* Hec. 66, *et moneo et hortor, ne quousquam misereat, . . . || utine eximium neminem habeam? || neminem.* Hec. 199, Ph. 874, Epid. 225. The last is the only one lacking in clearness.

There are further two cases where *priusne quam* is used, which are closely allied to the preceding. Mil. 1005, *hercle vero iam adlubescit primulum, Palaestrio. || priusne quam illam oculis vidisti?* Truc. 694, *is quidem hic apud nos est Strabax: modo rure venit. || priusne quam ad matrem suam?* Pl. 22 [23], Ter. 5.

These clauses are in their nature, aside from the use of *ne* or the interrogation, incomplete sentences. Some of them have the subjunctive of characteristic, which they could have only as clauses in themselves incomplete. Some few of them, e. g. Trin. 360 (*quin*), Epid. 225 (*ulin*), might, if taken alone, be understood as complete sentences, but when all are put together and their similarity is noted, I cannot see how they can be regarded as anything else than ordinary relative clauses, separated from the main clause of the sentence. The hypothesis of an ellipsis is made necessary, therefore, not by the use of *ne* or its unusual connection with a relative, nor by the interrogation, but by the relative. And it is plain that *ne* is attached to the relative simply because the word to which it would naturally be appended is not in the sentence. Most. 738

¹ A fuller discussion of these clauses is given below in connection with the history of the interrogative sentence.

would be *deseruitne ventus eam navem, quae*; Merc. 573, *idne non osculer quod amem*? Or more briefly *dicisne eam (id)*, *quae (quod)* . . .? So in Epid. 107, *idne pudet te, quia captivam genere prognatam bono de praeda's mercatus*? might have been *quian*, if the other speaker had happened to say *pudet me*. So also Eun. 415, *eone es ferox, quia*.

These questions have in all but two or three cases a rather distinct tone of rejection. This arises from the fact that they supplement in an interrogative tone the statement of the other speaker. This may be done inquiringly, as in Bacch. 257, Mil. 13, or with astonishment, as in Epid. 719, without going so far as to express dissent. But the natural tendency of this, as of all supplementary questions (cf. Engl. "Do you mean . . .?" "Do you mean to say . . .?"), is to become corrective or repudiating. In this way these questions come very close to the corrective sense of *quin*, so that it may in certain passages be difficult to distinguish between them.

(b). In a few cases the relative clause precedes the leading clause, and the antecedent is either expressed or plainly implied. St. 501, *quaene capse deciens in die mutat locum, eam auspicavi ego in re capitali mea*? Here the sentence is interrogative, but with the leading clause after the relative, and *ne* is simply appended to the first word of the sentence. Rud. 272, *quaene eiectae e mari sumus ambae, opsecro, unde nos hostias agere voluisti huc*? (*vis tibi huc*, Sch.) This is similar except that in the leading clause a new interrogative *unde* is introduced, by a second thought; that is, the sentence ends with an anacoluthon. In the same way I should explain Cist. IV 2, 6, *quamne in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis cistellam, ubi ea sit nescio*. Here the substituted second clause is, of course, not interrogative, but it is one which could easily be substituted for an interrogation. In Mil. 614, *quodne vobis placeat, displiceat mihi*? Lor.² omits *ne* because there is no example of such a use of *ne* except where a demonstrative or personal pronoun follows in the main clause. But we are dealing here with unusual and infrequent forms of sentence, and it seems to me that it is by no means necessary that they should be alike in all points. The only essential is that the relative clause should precede; if Pl. could write *quod vobis placeat, displiceat mihi*? as Ribbeck and Lor. read, then he could write *quodne vobis*, etc.

Beside these there are some passages where *qui-ne* is used after

the leading clause. My collection of examples is not, I fear, complete on this point, nor have I any new explanation to offer except such general suggestion as comes in the line of the remarks to follow upon the extent and variety of the uses of *ne*. Truc. 533 is classed by Lor. (Most.² 738) with Catull. LXIV 180, 182 f., as a continuation; rightly, as I think. On Rud. 767 I should agree with Kienitz on *quin*, p. 2, in thinking *quin(e) ut* impossible. For Cist. IV 1, 1 f. I know neither parallel nor explanation. On Ad. 261 f. see Dz. Krit. Anh., the ed. with notes.

ON *ne* WITH APPARENT NEGATIVE SENSE.

Questions of this kind, in which, as it is commonly expressed, *ne* = *nonne*, are given by Holtze, II 256 ff., in the list of questions with *ne*, but without explanation. Kühner, II 1002, gives a short list of places where *ne* expects an affirmative answer, saying in the index "scheinbar statt *nonne*," but giving no explanation. Hand, Turs. IV 74, gives a partial explanation, but as he starts from the thesis that *ne* has everywhere an appreciable negative force, he says only that *ne* is here a briefer expression for *nonne*. In the commentaries, where the usage is noticed (Bx. on Men. 284, Lor. on Ps. 340), a few illustrations are given. The only real attempt to explain this kind of question is made by Professor Warren in his article "On the enclitic *ne* in early Latin," Am. Jour. of Philol., II, pp. 50-82. After quoting comments of grammarians on *vidin*, *dixin*, etc., he says "I infer that to them [the Latin grammarians] the negative force of *ne* [in *vidin*, *dixin*] is as clear and sharp as the negation in *can't*, *won't*, etc., is clear to an English speaker." In other words, as the context shows, this usage is to be regarded as a survival of the original negative sense of *ne*. The problem of the origin of the *ne*-question will be taken up later, in connection with the general history of the interrogative sentence; this seems a fitting point, however, to gather together the cases in which *ne* has the effect of *nonne*.

They are these: *sumne*, mostly with a relative clause, *videon* (?), *vincon* (?), *possumne* (?), *cognoscin* (?), *scin* in a few cases, *viden* with infin. and perhaps in some cases with *ut* clause, *facitne*, *faciuntne*, *videturne* (?), *estne* in certain cases, the perf. indic. first sing. except one case, *dixtin*, *iuravistin* (no others in perf. second pers.), possibly two or three in perf. indic. third pers., the impf. subjunctive in apodosis, and possibly two or three with *satin*.

These have been commented upon as they came up, and it has

been shown in detail that they are always attended by some circumstance or expression which of itself shows that an affirmative answer is expected. This attendant circumstance may be asserted by a phrase in the question, or it may be obvious from the action or situation of the speaker. *sumne* has a rel. clause, Merc. 588, *sumne ego homo miser, qui nusquam bene queo quiescere?* "Am I not a wretched man? I can never be at rest!" *sumne ibi?* (Rud. 865) "I said I'd be at Venus' temple; am I there?" = "Am I not there?" because he was standing in plain sight in front of the temple. *viden* with infin. asks in *viden* and answers in the infin. Capt. 595, "His body is spotted all over! Don't you see it?" With an *ut* clause, which is less definite than the infin. (see Bx. Trin. 1046 on the difference in independent questions), the *nonne* effect is also less clear. Verbs in the third sing. pres. indic. are almost invariably neutral; the question is genuine; but *facitne* (Amph. 526) has the effect of *nonne*. The full question is *facitne ut dixi?* "I said he would do it. Isn't he doing it?" So the perf. indic. first sing., not simply with *vidin*, *dixin*, *edixin*, but in every case but one (*dixin*, Cist. 251 Uss.), contains an assertion in itself and demands an acknowledgment rather than an answer.

Beside these cases in which the *nonne* effect is rather clear, there are others in which it is less distinct. Some of these are marked in the list with a question mark. Thus, *vincon*, Amph. 433, may be either "Am I proving my point?" or "Am I not proving . . .?" The questions indicating recognition, *videon* and *estne hic meus sodalis*, etc., may be taken either way, according as the recognition is more or less complete. *estne haec tua domus?* is a question for information, because there was nothing to show whether it was *tua domus* or not; *estne haec manus?* (Pers. 225) means "Isn't this a hand?" because the hand was violently thrust into view. *sumne apud me?* Mil. 1345, spoken by a person just recovering from a (pretended) swoon, means "Am I in my senses?" If it were used in angry argument it might be spoken with such a tone and manner as to make it mean "Am I not in full possession of my reason?" So *dixin* is the standing example of *ne* = *nonne*, but in Cist. 251 Uss. (Fragm. 27, Ben.) we have *haec tu pervorsa omnia mihi fabulatu's. || dixin ego istaec, obsecro? || modo quidem hercle haec dixisti*. Here the half-dazed speaker really does not know whether he had said it or not, and so *dixin* means "did I say that?" and could not possibly mean "didn't I say that?"

Further, there are questions like those already cited, having the same degree of *nonne* effect, but not having *ne*. They will be found below under IV G. Examples are And. 423, *sum verus?* (cf. Rud. 865, *sumne ibi?*), Eun. 532, *dico ego mi insidias fieri?* Even in *quis* questions a similar effect may be produced, e. g. Asin. 521, *quid ais tu? . . . quotiens te votui Argyrippum filium Demaeneti compellare . . . ?* which is very nearly "Haven't I often forbidden . . . ?"

It seems clear that we have to do here with a shading or tone, which is not always associated with *ne* and therefore cannot be produced by it, but which is always associated with certain attendant circumstances and varies in intensity as these circumstances vary. If the *nonne* effect were really a negation, due to the negative force of *ne*, there could be no half tones, no cases about which there would be any doubt as to the presence of the *nonne* effect. But in fact the same form passes through various gradations of meaning: *estne frater intus?* *estne tibi nomen Menaechmo?* *estne hic meus sodalis?* *estne haec manus?* Between *dixin* and *dixin* there is nothing like the gap that there is between *can* and *can't* in declarative sentences. If, however, we turn to English interrogative sentences and compare, e. g. "Can I help you?" with "Can't I help you?" we see that, though one question starts from the affirmation and the other from the negation, they have both approached neutrality of meaning, so that we can imagine circumstances which would permit the use of either. But if *can* and *can't*, in spite of their different forms, may be used almost indifferently in questions, much more must *estne* and *estne*, alike in form and origin, have seemed to a Roman identical, even though the circumstances may have given them slightly varying shades of meaning. It seems to me, therefore, quite erroneous to hold that the "*ne* = *nonne*" questions are distinctly negative in sense; rather they are neutral questions, with very slight (possibly negative) shading, used in circumstances where the modern idiom employs the neutral-negative question. Later I hope to show that *dixin* = "didn't I say?" is not in reality more immediately connected with the original *nē* than is *dixin* = "did I say?"

II. *num*.

Of all the interrogative particles *num* and *an* are the most difficult.

In regard to the etymology of *num* two distinct opinions are held. One (e. g. Corssen, Kühner, Landgraf Reisig-Haase, III, p. 301, note) is that *num* is the accus. sing. masc. of the pronominal stem *no-* and bears the same relation to *nunc* as *tum* to *tunc*. The other (Ribbeck, Lat. Partik., p. 12, Stolz-Schmalz, p. 299) is that *num* contains the negative *ne* and means "nicht zu irgend einer Zeit." This seems to be connected in the Stolz-Schmalz grammar (p. 298) with a theory that all questions except the disjunctive necessarily contain a negative word.

In regard to the meaning also of questions with *num*, there is a considerable variety of opinion, though it is usually said that *num* expects a negative answer. Kühner, as usual, appears to test the answer expected by the answer received, an error upon which I have commented before. One reason for the uncertainty in regard to *num* is that it has no special sets of phrases connected with certain verbs or certain persons or numbers, like *sumne*, *ain*, *vin*. Except *numquid vis* and *num moror* it has formed no idioms which could serve as a starting-point for investigation. It would therefore be useless to divide *num* questions according to the person and tense of the verb, as was done with *ne*, and the only course left is to note the leading tendencies of meaning, applying such tests as the context furnishes, and remembering that the results must necessarily be somewhat uncertain. In doing this one must take some pains to rid himself of the inclination, which we get from familiarity with the classical Latin, to attach to *num* the idea of a negative answer, and must endeavor to look at each case without bias.

(a). There are many cases where the context shows that the speaker could not possibly have held the negative opinion or have expected a negative answer. Amph. 1073, *numnam hunc percussit Iuppiter? credo edepol*. Andr. 477, *num immemores discipuli?* ("Your pupils have forgotten your instructions, haven't they?") Aul. 389, *strepitust intus. numnam ego compilor miser?* Andr. 591, *hem, numnam perimus?* Eun. 947, *quae illaec turbast? numnam ego perii?* Aul. 242, *sed pro Iuppiter, num ego disperii?* (Müll. Pros. 305, *nunc*). Men. 608, *num ancillae aut servi tibi responsant? eloquere: inpune non erit*. Men. 413, *pro Iuppiter, num istaec mulier illinc (from Syracuse) venit, quae te novit tam cate?* Amph. 620, . . . *quid ais? num abdormivisti dudum?* || *nusquam gentium*. || *ibi forte istum si vidisses quendam in somnis Sosiam*. (So Goetz-Loewe.) Other sure cases are

Amph. 709, 753, Cist. IV 1, 6, Poen. 976, Eun. 286, Heaut. 517.

While the context shows that the speaker in several if not in all of these held the affirmative opinion, this does not anywhere appear to be so distinctly expressed as to make it possible to put *nonne* in the place of *num*. They seem rather like neutral questions: "Has Jupiter struck him? I really believe he has!" "What a noise there is! Am I getting robbed?"

Pl. 10, Ter. 5.

(b). In some cases the question is clearly asked for information. Men. 890, *num larvatust aut cerritus? fac sciam. num eum veturnus aut aqua intercus tenet?* This is asked by a physician who wants to know his patient's symptoms. Merc. 173, after a vague but disquieting announcement of misfortune, a father whose son is at sea asks, *obsecro, num navis periit? || salvast navis*. Asin. 31, *dic serio, quod te rogem . . . num me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit?* Merc. 215, *num esse amicam suspicari visus est?* Other passages are similar to these, but I have preferred to give only those where the context makes the inquiring tone clear beyond question.

In the following cases the context does not forbid the negative sense, nor does it require it. If it is presumed on the evidence of the later usage that *num* requires a negative answer, these questions would not be inconsistent with the rule; if it can be shown that *num* is properly neutral in sense, there is nothing to prevent these cases from being so understood. They are Asin. 619, Aul. 161, Bacch. 212, Cas. II 6, 32, V 2, 31, 54, Capt. 658, Merc. 131, Mil. 924, Most. 336, 905, 1109, Poen. 1079, 1258, 1315, Rud. 235, 1304, Truc. 546, 602, Ad. 487, 697, Andr. 438, 971, Eun. 756, 829, Ph. 846. In Men. 612, Rud. 830 there is perhaps an inclination toward the negative.

Pl. 27, Ter. 7.

(c). Rather sharply distinguished from the preceding uses is the use of *num* in sentences which, like "*ne* = *nonne*," challenge the hearer to acknowledge something which the dialogue or the action makes evident. This is always a negative, but it is not quite accurate to say that *num* here "expects a negative answer." It challenges the hearer to deny, if he can, but the denial is not waited for. Capt. 632, *meam rem non cures, si recte facias. num ego curo tuam?* Men. 606, *polin ut . . . molestus ne sis? num te appello?* Precisely similar to these is *num moror?* "I'm not

delaying, am I?" Curc. 365, Most. 794.¹ Cf. *numquid moror?* Epid. 681, *quid me quaeris? ecce me! num te fugi? num ab domo absum? num oculis concessi a tuis?* Heaut. 793, 794 (twice) is similar. Also with the first pers., Ps. 220, Men. 565, Mil. 291, Truc. 379, Heaut. 738, Ph. 411, 524.

With second pers. less frequent. And. 496, 578, and probably Eun. 854. I find no cases in Pl.

With the third pers. Curc. 94, *num mutit cardo? est lepidus.* Most. 345, *num mirum aut novom quippiam facit?* "There's nothing remarkable in his being drunk, is there?" Truc. 352, *num tibi nam amabo ianuast mordax mea, . . . ?* "You don't suppose my door will bite, do you?" softened by *nam* and *amabo*. Ps. 1289, Asin. 576, Poen. 866, Andr. 366, 877, Eun. 163, 575, Heaut. 514, Hec. 707, Ph. 848. Pl. 17, Ter. 16.

The large proportion of these with the first person is noteworthy, as supporting the analogy with "*ne* = *nonne*." (Cf. *sumne, dixin*.) This analogy is further supported by the fact that the two kinds of question occur together, e. g. Rud. 865, *dixeram praesto fore. numquid muto? sumne ibi?*

Numquis, numquid.

Some of the same difficulties which attend the discussion of *num* appear also in *numquis*, and the arrangement is in general the same.

(a). In some cases the context shows that a negative expectation is improbable. Most. 999, *numquid processit ad forum hic hodie novi?* (cf. 1004) || *quid tu otiosus res novas requiritas?* Most. 1031, *perii, interii.* || *numquid Tranio turbavit?* Lor. transl. "Hat Tranio irgend einen Streich gespielt?" and the very mention of T. shows that Sinio thinks him the probable source of trouble. Merc. 369, *sed istuc quid est, tibi quod commutatust color? numquid tibi dolet?* Bacch. 668, *numqui nummi, ere, tibi exciderunt, quod sic terram optuere?* Eun. 272, *numquidnam hic quod nolis vides?* || *te.* || *credo: at numquid aliud?* || *quidum?* (= What makes you think so?) || *quia tristi's.* Also Bacch. 538, Andr. 943.

¹ Kühner, II 1008, 2, translates this "soll ich noch bleiben?" taking this rendering with time-force apparently from Draeger, I 342, who perhaps took it from Haud. IV 319. In Curc. 365 the preceding words are *eamus nunc intro, ut tabellas consignemus?* after which *num moror?* could not possibly mean "soll ich noch bleiben?" Nor is this sense any better in Most. 794.

The negative opinion is not so entirely impossible here as it is in some cases with *num*, but it is unlikely. I think it may be said that no one would suppose that these questions required a negative answer, if he took them by themselves, apart from the influence of later usage, as should of course be done.

The following cases are less clear: Capt. 172, Curc. 23, 25, Merc. 642, 716, Men. 608, Most. 548, 750. Pl. 13, Ter. 2.

(b). A negative answer was probably expected in Asin. 830 (*numquidnam*), Men. 1146, Ps. 1330, Rud. 832, Eun. 994, Ph. 563, but so far as a negative implication exists, it is due to the challenging tone noticed above with *num*. These cases therefore form a middle step to the following class. They are Cas. III 5, 41, Poen. 1355, Ps. 728, Eun. 283, Hec. 865, Ph. 474, 509. With *numquidnam*, Bacch. 1110, Ad. 265, Andr. 325, Heaut. 429, Hec. 267.

The question *numquis hic (ad)est?* used when the speaker wants to impart a secret, deserves special mention. It is used Most. 472, Mil. 994, 1019, Rud. 948, St. 102, Eun. 549. Cf. also Trin. 69, below. This seems to mean "Is there any one here? (I hope not)" and to be in its form almost neutral. Pl. 14, Ter. 11.

(c). *numquis*, with negative effect, in questions challenging the hearer to deny an evident fact.

Pers. 462, 726, Cas. II 6, 70, *numquid moror?* Cf. *num moror?* Rud. 865, quoted above, Rud. 736, *fateor, ego trifurcifer sum: . . . numqui minus hasce esse oportet liberas?* Also with *numqui minus*, Rud. 1020, Ps. 160, Ad. 800, and *numqui nitidiusculum*, Ps. 219. Other cases of *numquid* are Mil. 1130, Ps. 919, Pers. 551, Ad. 689, Eun. 163, 475. The challenging tone is somewhat less distinct in Amph. 347, Bacch. 884, Eun. 1043. Ps. 495 resembles Ps. 368, Most. 1141. In Epid. 593 there is an affectation of humility and innocence, but the general sense is the same. Trin. 69, *numquis est hic alius praeter me atque te?* is especially instructive. It is essentially the same in form as *numquis hic (ad)est?* Mil. 994, 1019, etc., but differs from them in the circumstances. The passage is (*venio*) *malis te ut verbis multis multum obiurigem. || men? || numquis . . . ? || nemost*. The form of the question and the quiet answer *nemost* show that it is properly only an ordinary question, "is there any one else here?" but when brought into connection with *men?* "do you mean *me?*" it assumes a challenging tone and seems to demand a negative answer.

Similar in general effect to these are questions with *numquae causast quin* used in *stipulatio*. See Lor. Einl. zu Ps. Anm. 9.

Aul. 262, *sed nuptias hodie quin faciamus numquae causast ? || immo hercle optuma.* Capt. 353, Amph. 852 (*numquid causam dicis quin*), Ps. 533, Trin. 1188 *numquid causaest quin . . .* Here the question expresses in interrogative form the fact to which the previous dialogue has led up, that is, the readiness of the other person to make the bargain. As *numquid moror ?* means "Isn't it plain from my actions that I am not delaying?" so this means "There is no objection on your part, is there? to the bargain." The negative sense thus forced upon the question justifies *quin* and *immo*. Pl. 21, Ter. 5.

(d). *numquid vis ?* On this *formula abeundi* Don. remarks, Eun. II 3, 50 (341), "abituri, ne id dure facerent, *numquid vis ?* dicebant iis, quibuscum constitissent." Brix, Trin.³ 192, translates, "Wünschest du sonst noch etwas?" and I should agree with him in thinking that the words in themselves contain no negative. The politeness of the question would be slight if it meant "You don't want anything more, do you?" It is like the shopman's question, as the customer takes out his money, "Can I show you anything else?" The courtesy consists in making the offer as if it were to be accepted; the negative suggestion comes from the readiness already shown by the other speaker to bring the interview to a close. There is no challenge, and the analogy to *numquis hic adest* is close.

Numquid vis ? is used Amph. 542, 544, Bacch. 604, Capt. 191, Curc. 516, 525, Men. 328, 548, Merc. 325, Mil. 1086, Ps. 665, Trin. 192, Truc. 883, Ad. 432, Hec. 272.

Other forms are *numquid me vis ? n. aliud me v. ?* and with *ceterum*, Aul. 175, 263, Cist. I 1, 121, Curc. 522, Epid. 512, Mil. 575, Pers. 692, 708, Eun. 191, Ph. 151, 458.

Without verb, *numquid aliud (me) ?* Bacch. 757, Capt. 448, Mil. 259, 1195, Most. 404, Poen. 801, Eun. 363.

With infin., Capt. 400 (*nuntiari*), Ps. 370 (*dicere*).

With *quin* clause, Cist. I 1, 119, Amph. 970, Ad. 247.

Other verbs are *imperas*, Eun. 213, *me rogaturu's*, Trin. 198, *me morare*, Poen. 911. *num quippiam* is used Pers. 735, Truc. 432 (Müll. 463, *numquid nunc*). Pl. 33, Ter. 8.

When *quid* is in the acc. cognate or of "compass and extent," it has very little weight in the sentence, and *numquid* becomes nearly equivalent to *num*, serving merely as an interrogative particle. So *numquid moror ?* is about the same as *num moror ?* and see Rud. 865, Pers. 551, Most. 750, Andr. 943, Ps. 1330, Asin. 830, Rud. 832, etc.

The following passages have been passed over as conjectural or too doubtful for use:—*num*, Amph. 321, Cas. II 2, 24, II 6, 22 (conj. Uss.), IV 3, 14, 620 Gepp., 809 Gepp. (Uss. 892, *nunc*), Men. 823, Merc. 981, Poen. 258, Ps. 472, Trin. 922, Truc. 186, 546, 723, Ad. 395. *namquid*, Cas. 757 (Gepp. conj.), Most. 726, Truc. 639.

The uncertainty in regard to the etymology of *num* and the lack of sharply distinguished idioms makes the history of the uses obscure, but the challenging use, which afterward became the use "expecting a negative answer," seems to bear somewhat the same relation to *num* in neutral questions that "*ne* = *nonne*" bears to the ordinary *ne*. That is, the negative opinion of the speaker and so the expectation of a negative answer are made apparent by something in the action or, less often than with "*ne* = *nonne*," in the words. This is so similar to the special use of *ne* that it needs no further comment. Rud. 865, where *num* in the challenging sense and *ne* in the sense of *nonne* are both due to the same influence, is a good illustration.

The only question is whether *num* in this challenging use preserves anything of its original force.

It is hardly possible that *num* has here any original negative effect, since a negative force would require an affirmative answer. Nor am I able to see in these questions the slightest trace of time-force, such as Kühner and Draeger find in *num moror* and *numquid vis*. To succeed in shoving an Engl. *now* or a German *nun* into the translation without destroying the sense, does not prove the existence of any time-force in *num*. It seems probable also that the loss of the time-force was a necessary accompaniment of the development of an interrogative particle out of an adverb of time.

There is, however, another use of *nunc*, which seems to me to be connected with the challenging *num*, that is, *nunc* in the sense of "in view of this," "under these circumstances." This use appears to be closely related to *nam*, in that it reasons from what precedes, and as it shows the pronominal force of *nunc* it is probably an early sense. At any rate, it is found in Pl., and in *quid nunc ago?* has a distinct challenging force. Cf. the adversative use in Livy, pointed out by Wölfflin⁹ on XXI 13, 2. The circumstances which give a challenging tone to questions, even when they have *ne* (Ad. 136), would tend to preserve this tone in a word which already possessed it.

While the neutral *num* is found in later Latin, e. g. Hor. Sat.

II 6, 53, *numquid de Dacis audisti?* it was, perhaps even in the time of Pl., a dying usage, being pushed aside by *ne* in its ordinary sense. But so far as I can judge from the incomplete statistics at my command, the challenging *num* increased in usage, and took its regular sense of expecting a negative answer.

III. *Ecquis, ecquid, en umquam.*

The commonly received derivation of *ecquis* is from *en-quis* with assimilation of *en*. Ribbeck, however, Lat. Partik. p. 42, points out the difficulty of supposing that *en* (*em*) could change to *ec*, in view of forms like *hunc*, *illunc*, and prefers to leave *ec*-unexplained.

Kühner, II 995, makes two curious mistakes in classing *ecquis* with *quis* interrogative, and in saying "in direkten Fragen zeigt es an dass man mit Bestimmtheit eine negative Antwort erwartet."

As with *numquis* the variations in the form of the question are not sufficient to serve as a basis for classification, and all that can be done is to show the general function and note some of the idiomatic uses.

(a). In the masc. and fem., and in the neuter as subject or object; *ecquis* is a colorless interrogative-indefinite. Some few exceptions to this will be noted below.

Amph. 856, *dic mihi verum serio, ecquis alius Sosia intust, . . . ?* Rud. 1033, *ecquem in his locis novisti?* Asin. 514, Capt. 511, Cist. IV 2, 42, Epid. 437, Men. 135, Mil. 782, Ps. 971, St. 222, 342, Truc. 508.

When, as frequently happens, *ecquis* is in agreement with some definite word or phrase, the indefinite *quis* has little more force than the indefinite article. Poen. 1044, *sed ecquem adolescentem tu hic novisti Agorastoclem?* Esp. with the plural, Ps. 484, *ecquas viginti minas paritas ut a me auferas?* the special sense of *quis* seems wholly lost. Merc. 390, Ps. 482, Rud. 125, 313, 316; Hec. 804. Also perhaps Mil. 794, Most. 770. These questions could be about as well expressed by *-ne*.

ecquis est qui with the subjunct. occurs Cas. V 3, 12, Curc. 301, Merc. 844, Most. 354, Rud. 949.

In three cases, Merc. 844, *ecquisnam deust, qui mea nunc laetus laetitia fuat?* Rud. 971, Eun. 1031, there is an expectation of a negative answer, but it has nothing to do with *ecquis*, which is in its ordinary sense. These are the only cases of *ecquis* masc. or fem. except those given below, used in knocking at a door.

ecquid as subject of *est*, with partitive gen. Asin. 648, *ecquid est salutis?* Pers. 107, Poen. 257, Rud. 750, Truc. 897, Ph. 474. Possibly Truc. 93.

ecquid as direct object. Men. 149, Pers. 225, Poen. 619, Ps. 739, Rud. 1030, St. 338, Eun. 279, Heaut. 595, Ph. 798. Verb to be supplied Merc. 282. Pl. 40, Ter. 6.

(b). *ecquid* in the accus. of "compass and extent." With *meministi*, Bacch. 206, Mil. 42, Pers. 108, Poen. 985, 1062, Rud. 1310. With *amas*, Asin. 899, Cas. II 8, 19, Truc. 542, Eun. 456; *amare videor*, Poen. 327; *adsimulo*, Men. 146; *madere*, Most. 319; *placent*, Most. 906; *oneravit*, Mil. 902; *sentis*, Men. 912; *facere coniecturam*, Men. 163; *ecquid te pudet*, Cas. II 3, 26; Poen. 1305, Ps. 370, Andr. 871; *ecquid lubet*, Curc. 128; *ecquid in mentemst tibi*, Bacch. 161.

With adjectives, Mil. 1106, 1111, Ps. 746, 748, Truc. 505.

Pl. 26, Ter. 2.

In many of these cases *ecquid* has degenerated into an interrogative particle (cf. *numquid*). It has generally a neutral effect, indicating nothing as to the answer expected, but like *ne* or *num* it may be used in circumstances which admit only one answer, and so may seem to expect an affirmative or negative. *ecquid matrem amas?* (Asin. 899) is used where only the negative is possible; *ecquid amas nunc me?* (Cas. II 8, 19) hopes for an affirmative answer. *ecquid te pudet?* is not distinguishable in effect from *non te pudet?* And in general *ecquid* not only resembles *num*, *numquid*, but is also frequently used in immediate connection with them.

(c). *ecquid* with pres. indic. 2d sing. in impv. sense. Aul. 636, *ecquid agis?* || *quid agam?* Cist. III 12, Epid. 688, Amph. 577, *ecquid audis?* Aul. 270, Pers. 488, Trin. 717; Truc. 584 is uncertain, but *ecqui auditis* (Sch.) is without parallel. This use is less marked with other verbs, yet some impv. force seems to be present with all verbs in 2d pers., except where *ecquid* is defined by a partitive gen. or other phrase. Curc. 519, *ecquid das . . . ?* Poen. 364, *ecquid ais?* Ps. 383, *ecquid inperas?* So, somewhat less clearly, in Poen. 385, Men. 149, Rud. 1030. In these questions *ecquid* has no new and special force; the impv. effect is produced, as in *abin*, *audin*, by the asking of an urgent question about an action, which would be either going on or just about to take place. It is not to be expected that there should be any sharp line dividing impv. questions from others of similar form; and Men. 149, Rud. 1030, form a kind of half-way point between *ecquid adportas boni?* and *ecquid agis?*

(d). Like these in sense are a few questions in 3d pers. with *ecquis* as subject. Asin. 910, *ecquis currit pollinctorem arcessere?* Bacch. 11, Cas. II 2, 2, Men. 1003, St. 352, Cas. II 6, 52, *praecide os tu illi hodie. age, ecquid fit?* has the same kind of sense, and Uss. rightly compares *quid fit?* Bacch. 626, 879, to show that *fit* has really the effect of a 2d pers. active. *ecquid fit?* = *ecquid agis?* very nearly. With impv. effect, Pl. 21.

(e). One of the most common uses of *ecquis* is when the speaker is impatiently knocking at the door of a house, and, while the cases are not all alike in sense, I place them by themselves because they illustrate the gradual transitions which questions with *ecquis* make from one meaning to another.

ecquis hic est? Amph. 1020, Bacch. 582, Capt. 830, Men. 673 (*e. h. e. ianitor?*), Mil. 1297, Most. 339, 899, Poen. 1118, Rud. 762, Eun. 530 (*est* om.). *ecquis in villast*, Rud. 413, *in aedibust*, Bacch. 581.

With other verbs the impv. effect appears, as in *d. ecquis (hoc) aperit (ostium)?* Amph. 1020, Capt. 830, Most. 900, 988, Bacch. 582, Ps. 1139, Truc. 664. Most. 445 probably belongs here. Cf. Lor.³, Krit. Ann. With *exit*, Bacch. 583, Most. 900, Truc. 255. *prodit, recludit*, Rud. 413. Pl. 23, Ter. 1.

The noticeable point is that these two kinds of questions are frequently used together, e. g. Amph. 1020 f., Most. 899 f., Rud. 413, Bacch. 581 ff. Cf. *quin* with impv. and with pres. indic. *ecquis in aedibust (villast)?* evidently can have no impv. force. But as the questions are alike in everything except the verbs, the difference in sense must be due to the fact that the active verbs *aperit, exit* answer themselves; it is plain that no one is opening, is coming out, and the underlying idea, "if no one is doing it now, he should do it at once," becomes prominent, with its semi-impv. force.

Truc. 255, Trin. 870, *heus, ecquis his foribus tutelam gerit?* show how slight a variation of sense might turn an impatient question into an impv. It seems to mean "Is any one guarding this door?" (= *ecquis hic ianitor est?* Cf. Trin. 1057 f.). If the phrase *tutelam gerere* were in any degree active ("come to the help of, save, protect"), it would be impv. And even with *est* there is sometimes a shade of impv. effect, cf. Most. 899, *heus, ecquis hic est, maxumam qui his inuriam foribus defendat?*

(f). In a few cases, by a kind of anacoluthon, *ecquid* is preceded or followed by another interrogative word. Bacch. 980, *quid quod*

te misi, ecquid egisti? Ps. 740, *quid, si . . . , ecquid habet?* In Pers. 310 the MSS give *ecquid, quod mandavi tibi, estne in te speculae?* Rit. *est nunc*, with other changes *metr. grat.* There are probably other cases; my list is not, I think, complete.

In Cas. II 6, 22 (270 Gepp.), Ps. 737, Pers. 534, *ec* is supplied by conjecture. In Asin. 432 *ecquis* is a corruption of a proper name.

Upon *ecquis* in general Draeger, I, p. 344, acutely remarks, "eine specielle Bedeutung hat diese Form der Frage nicht, doch ist oft eine besondere Dringlichkeit bemerkbar." This urgency, which is the main characteristic of *ecquis*, suggests a connection with the vivid *em* or *en* rather than with the indefinite *eque*, but is of course not decisive.

It is remarkable that Ter. uses *ecquis* so seldom; he appears to have anticipated the classical usage, in which *numquis* is much more common than *ecquis*.

En umquam.

These words occur in the MSS Cist. I 1, 88, Men. 925, Rud. 987, 1117, Trin. 589, Ph. 329, 348. To these Brix adds by a very probable conjecture Men. 143. To what has been said by Ribbeck, Partik. p. 34, I have nothing to add, except that Brix seems right in saying on Men.³ 143 that the words are not necessarily emotional.

IV.—QUESTIONS WITHOUT AN INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE.

Questions without a particle occur about nine hundred times in Plautus and Terence. Before proceeding to the consideration of these in detail, some two or three points which have a general bearing upon them must be noticed.

In the first place, as the line which divides declarative from interrogative sentences is not clearly defined nor indeed capable of clear definition, and as *ne* would be used mainly where the questioning tone was rather clearly felt by the speaker, we must expect to find among sentences without a particle many semi-interrogative sentences; about these we cannot always be certain how much questioning effect they may have had. These, with some other sentences which omit *ne* for special reasons, I shall set aside first, as contributing least to the history of the interrogative sentence.

In the second place, there are three conceivable ways in which an interrogative sentence might differ from the same sentence put

declaratively: (1) it might omit words which the declarative sentence would contain; (2) it may contain words not found in the declarative sentence; (3) it may differ in the order of the words. There is no other way in which a question may be marked in writing. Omitting the first case, which of course does not occur, we must include under the second not only the recognized interrogative particles *ne*, *num*, *an*, *ec-*, with *quis* in all forms, but also cases where a personal pronoun is expressed to help out the interrogative emphasis (if I am right in supposing that such cases may be found), as well as the cases where a word is used in meanings that have no parallel in declarative sentences, e. g., *ila*, *satis* and perhaps *iam*, *etiam*. In the third case, where the changed order is the only thing to indicate the question, we have the questions whose interrogative character may have been fully denoted in speaking by voice-inflections and tones. We may in part recover these inflections by the analogies of modern colloquial usage, but such analogies are of course to be used only with great caution. Most of the tone and inflection must escape us; only when the emphasis was strong enough to affect the order of the words has it left any mark upon the written language. And even when the order is changed under the stress of interrogative emphasis, there remains the difficulty of distinguishing this from other kinds of emphasis, which so frequently cause variation from the so-called normal order.

It is plain, therefore, that no perfectly logical classification of questions without a particle is possible. In the following arrangement I have placed first the sentences in which the interrogative tone seems slight, the sentences which lie in the borderland between questions and assertions; second, the sentences in which the interrogative tone, though generally distinct, was not sufficient to affect the order. After these I have gathered together a few sentences in which the order of the words seems to mark the question. These divisions overlap one another somewhat, but they will at least serve as indications of certain groupings and tendencies of usage, and in this way help toward an understanding of the history of the interrogative sentence.

A.—IDIOMS AND SENTENCES WITH SLIGHT INTERROGATIVE EFFECT.

1. *possum*. St. 324, *possum scire ex te verum?* || *potes*. Amph. 346, Cas. III 5, 26 (Becker, 178 f.), Pers. 414, 423, all with dependent infin. and with *possum* at the beginning of the sentence.

These questions are strongly ironical, but they are in form questions for information. The irony consists in using a formal interrogation instead of a less courteous command. We should therefore expect *ne*. Its absence is due to the compound nature of *possum*; to say *pos-sum-ne* would have been against the usage, which required, e. g., *molestusne sum*, not *molestus sumne*, and so *potisne sum*, not *potis sum-ne*. Plautus therefore does not use *possumne* at all; Terence does not feel the compound nature of *possum* so plainly, and uses it once in a sense exactly the same, Eun. 712, *possumne ego hodie ex te exculpere verum?*

Pl. 5, Ter. o.

potin in 2d and 3d pers. is perhaps preserved longer by its idiomatic use with *ut*. *potestne* does not occur in Pl. or Ter.

2. *cesso*. Aul. 397, *sed cesso priusquam prorsus perii currere?* Capt. 827, *sed ego cesso hunc Hegionem onerare laetitia senem?* Aul. 627, Cas. II 3, 20, III 6, 4, Epid. 342, Merc. 129, Mil. 896, Pers. 197, Rud. 676, Truc. 630, Ad. 320, 586, 712, Andr. 845, Eun. 265, 996, Heaut. 410, 757, Hec. 324, Ph. 285, 844.

Pl. 11, Ter. 11.

These are all in soliloquy and all have an infin. without subject accus. The verb stands first or preceded only by *sed*, *at* and a word or two, *ego*, *etiam*, except in Epid. 342, when the infin. comes first.

These sentences are generally punctuated with a question mark, but single passages are marked with a period by Bent., Umpf., Wagn., Speng., Uss. Taking them all together it is plain that they are not questions for information; in many cases, e. g. Capt. 827, Ph. 844, they have not even the hesitating tone of *videon* in soliloquy nor the challenging demand of *sumne*. I believe that the position of *cesso* at the beginning of the sentence (*cesso ego* three times in Pl.) is due to non-interrogative emphasis, so that the sentence means something like "This is regular shuffling—foolish hesitation," or *Hibernice* "Sure it's delaying I am." That this emphatic recognition of the meaning of the speaker's action approached an exclamation is plain from Epid. 342, *sed ego hinc migrare cesso, . . . ?* and the use in connection with other exclamatory questions (Merc. 129, *at etiam asto? at etiam cesso . . . ?*) shows a leaning toward the interrogation. But on the whole the emphasis which caused *cesso* to stand at the head of the sentence was not the questioning emphasis, and the *cesso* phrases lie nearer the declarative than the interrogative sentence. There is no connection with the use of the pres. indic. in fut. sense.

Compare also the Terentian use of *cessas*, given below under D, which in some respects resembles *cesso*.

3. *nempe*. To the full discussion of the uses of *nempe* by Langen, Beiträge, pp. 125-132, I have nothing to add. Though perhaps properly printed with a question mark, these sentences are not really interrogative. They add an interpretation, more or less hesitating and conjectural, of what has been said by the other speaker. Langen calls such a sentence "eine als sicher richtig bezeichnete Voraussetzung, resp. Behauptung." As with the Engl. "doubtless," the tone and inflection might so far overcome the proper sense of *nempe* as to give the sentence a half-interrogative effect.

The list below may not include all cases which in any edition are marked with an interrogation point.

Aul. 293, Asin. 117, 339, Bacch. 188 [so Goetz, but cf. Lang. p. 131], 689, Cist. II 3, 56, Curc. 44, Epid. 449 (Goetz *quemne*), Men. 1030, Mil. 337, 808, 906, 922, Most. 491, 653, 919, Ps. 353, 1169, 1189, Rud. 268, 343, 565, 567, 1057, 1080, 1392, Trin. 196, 328, 966, 1076, Truc. 362, And. 30, 195, 950, Eun. 563, Hec. 105, Ph. 307.

Pl. 31, Ter. 6.

4. *fortasse* (*fortassis*), *scilicet*, *videlicet*. Sentences with these words are sometimes printed as questions. They are similar to *nempe* questions, except that, from its proper meaning, *fortasse* is more hesitating. I have noted the following cases: *fortasse*, *fortassis*, Amph. 726, *tu me hic vidisti?* || *ego, inquam, . . . || in somnis fortassis?* (cf. Most. 491, *nempe ergo in somnis?*), Bacch. 671, Curc. 324, Pers. 21, 441, Rud. 140, And. 119, Heaut. 824, Ph. 145, 901.

scilicet, Eun. 346, Heaut. 705, Ph. 695.

videlicet, Capt. 286.

Pl. 7, Ter. 7.

In a few cases sentences similar to these, containing a parenthetical *credo*, are punctuated as questions, but I have made no record of them.

In all these cases, with *cesso*, *nempe*, *fortasse*, *scilicet*, *videlicet*, we have sentences which lie between an assertion and a question, and which could have either effect according to the inflection of the voice.

B.—REPETITIONS.

When a speaker takes up and repeats words just used by the other person in the dialogue, it is because these words in particular have excited some emotion, surprise or incredulity or indignation.

The effect is not necessarily interrogative, but rather exclamatory, shading off into interrogative.

1. The words are repeated without change, and the verb is not expressed.

Amph. 692, . . . *ut dudum dixerat*. || *dudum? quam dudum istuc factumst?* Amph. 901, Capt. 838, 844, Men. 380, 615, Merc. 735, Mil. 376 (Bx. uses period), Most. 383, 477L², 493, 638, 642, 810, Poen. 474, Ps. 79, 305 (but cf. Lang. Beitr. 315), 345, 637, 717, 842, Rud. 799, St. 749, Trin. 941 twice. In Curc. 636 the repetition is due to doubtful conjecture. In Trin. 375, . . . *ducere uxorem sine dote*. || *sine dote uxorem?* || *ita*, Ritschl's *uxoremne* has been accepted by Brix, who quotes instances of *ne* with second or third word in the sentence. His list might be somewhat enlarged, but the only cases where the MSS give *ne* with a noun in repetitions are Epid. 30, *armane*, and Eun. 573, 992, *pro eunuchon*. The latter is the nearest approach to a parallel to *uxoremne*, and does not give it much support. The passages from Ter. are Ad. 700, 753, And. 328, 663, 945 (Dz. only), Eun. 184, 318, 370, 856, 859, 908, 1073, Heaut. 192, 331, 587, 815, 861, 938, Hec. 432, 639, Ph. 300, 385, 553, 558, 642, 790, 981.

Cases where *non* is repeated are given below.

Pl. 25 [27,] Ter. 27.

2. Slight changes are made in the repeated words, especially in the person of pronouns. Curc. 582, *tuom libertum*. || *meum?* Cas. II 6, 14, III 6, 12, Men. 282, Poen. 762, 1238, Ps. 715, 723, Truc. 918, Ad. 697, 934, Eun. 745, 798, Hec. 209, Ph. 447.

In the following the changes are greater. Capt. 148, *alienus* . . . || *alienus ego?* *alienus ille?* Aul. 784, *renuntiare repudium iussit* . . . || *repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* Eun. 224, 626, And. 928, Ad. 182, 960. Ph. 1047 is an improbable conjecture. In Rud. 728 Sch. reads *det*. In Aul. 326 the only objection to Wagner's text, *fur?* *etiam fur trifurcifer*, is that it makes the thought unnecessarily involved. Cas. II 5, 10, *cum uxore mea?* is changed by Gepp. to *uxoren*, cf. Trin. 375. In Andr. 469, Merc. 525, there is, strictly speaking, no repetition of words but only of the thought. Curc. 323 *ain tu?* *omnia haec?* is similar.¹

Pl. 14 [16], Ter. 12.

¹ Repetitions preceded by *quid?* are not included in these lists. They are in many cases best punctuated with a comma after *quid* and cannot be clearly distinguished from repetitions like Capt. 1006, . . . *gnate mi*. || *hem, quid gnate mi?* ("What do you mean by *gnate mi?*"), or even like Ps. 46, *salutem* . . . ||

3. The verb, if it is in the 3d pers., may be repeated without change, either with or without other words. Curc. 173, *te prohibet erus* . . . || *prohibet? nec prohibere quit nec prohibebit.* Aul. 720, Cas. III 5, 38, Epid. 699, Merc. 181, 534, Most. 376, 481, 554, 830, 946, 1079, Poen. 1309, Rud. 1095 (infin.), Trin. 969, Truc. 306, Ad. 934, And. 876, Eun. 956, 984, 986, Heaut. 606, Hec. 100 (infin.), Ph. 510 (twice). Pl. 16, Ter. 9.

4. The verb may be changed in person and other changes or additions may be made. Aul. 761, *quod subrupuisti meum?* || *subrupui ego tuum?* Aul. 652, Bacch. 681, 825, Capt. 611, Cas. III 5, 10, Curc. 705, Epid. 712, Men. 394, Mil. 556, 1367, Most. 1029, Ps. 509, 711, 1203, Truc. 292, Ad. 565, And. 617, Eun. 162, Heaut. 720, 1009, 1013, Hec. 206 and perhaps Hec. 72, Ph. 389, Ad. 940, 950. Cf. also Trin. 127, above. In Aul. 720 *nescis?* is used as if some spectator had said *nescio* in answer to the previous question *dic igitur, quis habet.* In Men. 645, *palla mihist domo subrupta.* || *palla subruptast mihi?* the person of the pronoun is intentionally unchanged; in Most. 375, . . . *ego disperii.* || *bis peristi? qui potest?* the speaker is drunk.

Cases where the change is still greater cannot be classified minutely, and the question whether the speaker is introducing a new idea or catching up one which has been implied in the previous conversation can be settled only by a careful reading of the context. Such cases are Ps. 344, Trin. 605, Ad. 726. Sometimes the repetition is in the thought, not in any one word, and amounts to an interpretation of what has been said with the intention of bringing out more clearly some one aspect of it. So Ad. 747, *domi erit.* || *pro divom fidem, meretrix et mater familias una in domo?* Capt. 262, *ut vos hic, itidem illic apud vos meus servatur filius.* || *captus est?* (= "you mean that he is a prisoner?" not "is he a prisoner?") Ad. 538, *lupus in fabula.* || *pater est?* (Cf. Dz. note. Nearly equal to "what! my father?") So Men. 1058. When the idea has only been implied in a general way, the whole passage must be read. So Bacch. 145, Cist. II 1,

quam salutem? That is, they run over into *quis* in repetitions and ordinary *quis*-questions. They are Amph. 410, Ba. 114, 569, 852, Merc. 542, 685, Mil. 27, 316, 323, 470, Pers. 741, Rud. 736, 881, St. 597, Andr. 765, Eun. 638, Heaut. 311.

There is something of the same difficulty when the verb is repeated; so *erras.* || *quid erro?* (Men. 1025) is very near to *amat* . . . || *quid? amat?* (Eun. 956), and without the help of the voice inflection it is impossible to draw perfectly sharp lines; cf. Mil. 819 with Ps. 711.

24, Mil. 976, Rud. 752 (III 4, 47), in Par.; Sch. gives period. St. 599, Eun. 636; also, I think, Ph. 548, Ad. 433, though the previous implication is less distinct.

Here belong also a few cases of exclamation, consisting of two or three words in which an idea already suggested is summed up. Asin. 487, *nunc demum?* Andr. 474, *hui, tam cito?* Also And. 755, Eun. 87, and Hec. 875, which would have had a verb if it had not been interrupted.

In a few passages a long sentence is taken up in parts and repeated interrogatively in order to get confirmation of each particular. The passages, which are too long to quote, are Capt. 879 ff., Ps. 1152 ff., Rud. 1267 f., Eun. 707 f., Heaut. 431 f.

Repetitions with variation of phrase, Pl. 31 [32], Ter. 23.

In all these cases there is a common element of repetition, generally exclamatory, frequently though not necessarily rejecting the repeated idea. When the repetition is plain, and no change is made except in person of verbs or pronouns, there is really nothing interrogative in the effect of the sentence, though it seems possible that an interrogative effect might be produced as in English by the voice-inflection. The common forms of reply, *ita dico, id volui dicere*, or a repetition of the word (Capt. 838, *cedo manum. || manum? || manum, inquam*), show that there is no request for information in this form of question. But the moment the speaker adds to the repeated words some idea of his own, or repeats not the precise words but some modification of them, he introduces an element which in the full logical presentation of his thought would require a separate question. Thus Ad. 726, *scio. || scis et patere?* means in full "You know it! And do you endure it, too?" Aul. 784, *renuntiare repudium iussit . . . || repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* "Break the engagement! Does he propose that when everything is ready for the wedding?" In such cases the exclamatory structure of the first words is carried over into the second part and the real question is merged in the exclamation. Very possibly there would be in the Latin, as in the English, a slight pause after *repudium*.

Further, when the idea only is repeated in words which amplify or interpret it, the line which separates such exclamations from real questions is easily passed. Thus in Ad. 950, *agellist hic sub urbe paulum . . . || paulum id autemst?* does not mean "is that a little matter?" but "is that *what you call* a little matter?" In Capt. 262, given above, the change from *captus est?* "you mean that

he's a prisoner?" to *captusne est*? "Is he a prisoner?" is so slight that either might be used in such a conversation. In repetitions which are considerably changed, therefore, we cannot use the principle here outlined as a basis for deciding text questions. Especially in the long series of repetitions it is impossible to be sure that *ne* would not be used. Cf. Capt. 879, *meum gnatum*? MSS *meumne*, and so Bent., Fleck., Goetz. And generally in the long-continued repetition the speaker swings away from the exclamatory form, his emotion cooling, and tends to question facts instead of statements of facts.

While the preceding classification is one of function rather than of structure, it nevertheless corresponds pretty closely to a distinction in form. In nearly all the complete sentences, the verb is near the end, or at least not near the beginning; that is, the order is declarative, not interrogative. The exceptions are Aul. 652, 761, Trin. 127, Truc. 747. In Aul. 652, *certo habes*. || *habeo ego?* *quid habeo?* ("Have! have what?") the verb is first for emphasis, and so, I think, in Aul. 761, *quod subrupuisti meum*. || *subrupui ego tuum?* *unde?* *aut quid id est?* Of Trin. 127 I have spoken above, and in this passage, and in Truc. 747, *non licet* with infin., the repetition is so precise and immediate that the phrases cannot be interrogative. But even granting these exceptions, it is plain that the late position of the verb in the sentence and the exclamatory nature of the repetition belong together.

The use of *autem* with repetitions I have not thought it necessary to notice, after the remarks of Langen, Beitr. 315 f. Cases in which *ain?* precedes the repetition will be found also under that word, which is more frequent in Pl. than *autem*.

5. The repeated verb is in the subjunctive.

(a). Repetitions of an imperative. Aul. 829, *i, redde aurum*. || *reddam ego aurum?* Mil. 496, *ausculta, quaeso*. || *ego auscultem tibi?* Cist. 241 U, Merc. 749 twice, Most. 579, 620 L², Ps. 1315, And. 323 (only Umpf.; better with period), 894. Twice the reply is by a third speaker, and the verb is in the 3d pers., Ph. 1001, *tu narra*. || *scelus, tibi narret?* and Eun. 797. Besides these, Asin. 93 is a dittograph of 94; St. 471 implies the omission of a vs. containing an impv. or its equivalent; Pers. 188 is confused and probably not a repetition. Langen, Beitr. 123, objects to Wagner's punctuation and explanation of Aul. 82, and proposes, apparently with hesitation, *quippini ego intus servem?* I should follow Wagner's text, . . . *intus serva*. || *quippini? ego intus*

servem? understanding *quippini* to be the servant's assent to her master's order, while the next line is spoken in a grumbling undertone. Men. 198, *salta sic cum palla . . . || ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es*, and Merc. 915 are remarkable as the only cases in which the future repeats an impv. It must be connected with the impv. use of the fut. indic. 2d pers. and with the original fut. sense of the subjunctive. Pl. 9, Ter. 4.

(b). The impv. is only implied, or is expressed in the form of a question.

Bacch. 627 *non taces, . . . ? || taceam?* With *iubesne?* Eun. 389; with *non vides?* Eun. 676; with *quid dubitas dare?* Ps. 626. Also Ad. 938, Andr. 231, Ph. 988.

(c). Repetitions of a subjunctive, either impv. or in a subordinate clause. In the former case the subjunctive is like the preceding; in the latter it is merely a quotation with change of person, as with indicatives. Ps. 1226, *saltem Pseudolum mihi dedas. || Pseudolum ego dedam tibi?* Ps. 486, . . . *paritas, ut a me auferas. || abs te auferam?* With other tenses, Ps. 288, *surruperes patri. || surruperet hic patri, . . . ?* Bacch. 1176, Cas. II 6, 14, II 8, 18, 21, Men. 1024, Merc. 567, 575, Most. 183, Rud. 842, Ad. 396, And. 282, 382, 649, 900, Hec. 589, 670, Ph. 120, 382, 775. Also Most. 895, though it is partly corrupt.

There remain several passages in which the idea which is repeated and rejected by the subjunctive, is not distinctly expressed. Capt. 208, *at fugam fingitis . . . || nos fugiamus? quo fugiamus?* Asin. 838, *an tu me tristem putas? || putem ego quem videam esse maestum . . . ?* Asin. 482 is an interpolation; Rud. 728, *habeat, si argentum dabit. || det tibi argentum?* is an early correction now supported by A, Ps. 318, Truc. 625. Amph. 813, *mi vir, . . . || vir ego tuos sim?* (DEJ *sum*); Hec. 524, *mihine, mi vir? || vir ego tuos sim?* (*sum* all MSS exc. A), Andr. 915, *bonus est hic vir. || hic vir sit bonus?* ("Das soll ein Ehrenmann sein?" Speng.). Cas. I 1, 26, *mea praeda est illa . . . || tua praeda illaec sit?* (*est* BJE). The passages support each other, in spite of the variation in the MSS. It is plain, also, that *vir ego tuos sum?* would mean, "I am not your husband," while *sim* means "I am not going to be your husband any longer"; i. e., *sum* would deny the fact, *sim* rejects the claim. Pl. 22, Ter 17.

C.—*Rogas, negas, rogitas* AND SIMILAR VERBS.

Somewhat closely connected with repeated sentences is a group of verbs in the 2d pers. of the pres. indic., which sum up in a word

or two the idea of the previous sentence. For example, in Aul. 764, *nequē . . . dixi neque feci*, the second speaker instead of repeating the words in an exclamatory tone, *non dixisti?* sums up the sentence in the single word *negas?* This usage, though distinct enough with a few verbs, shades off, as repetitions do, by the addition of ideas not contained in the previous sentence, into ordinary questions or exclamations.

1. *rogas* alone. Aul. 634, *quid tibi vis reddam?* || *rogas?* Epid. 64, *amatne istam . . . ?* || *rogas?* *deperit*. Bacch. 206, 216, 980, Capt. 660, Cas. II 3, 35, Epid. 276, Pers. 42 (Ba. Rit. *rogan*), 107, Poen. 263, 386, 733, Ps. 740, Rud. 860, St. 335, Trin. 80, Truc. 505, Ad. 772, And. 163, 184, 267, 909, Eun. 324, 436, 574, Heaut. 532, Ph. 574, 704, 915. Pl. 18, Ter. 12.

2. *rogitas* alone. Aul. 339, *qui vero?* || *rogitas?* Rud. 1361, Ad. 558, Eun. 366, 675, 794, 897, 948, 1008, Heaut. 631, Ph. 156, 257. With *at*, Andr. 828, Hec. 526. Pl. 2, Ter. 12.

The question which precedes *rogas?* *rogitas?* has *ne* once, *non* once, *etiam* once, *ecquid* four times; the other 37 cases, including all from Ter., have some kind of *quis* question. It is hardly likely that this is accidental, but I can see no reason for it, unless it be that a mere exclamatory repetition of e. g. *quid ego deliqui?* in the form *quid tu deliquisti?* would not be sufficiently differentiated from the ordinary question *quid tu deliquisti?* This might lead to the addition of *rogas* (see below) or to its substitution for the repetition.

With some four or five exceptions the speaker makes no pause for an answer after *rogas*, *rogitas*, but continues with some reply to the previous question. No answer is needed, in fact; the apparent question is purely exclamatory, performing the same function as exact repetitions, and differing little from the Engl. "What a question!"

3. *negas?* Curc. 711, *non conmemini dicere.* || *quid?* *negas?* || *nego hercle vero.* Aul. 764, Men. 306, Mil. 829, Ph. 740.

Pl. 4, Ter. 1.

Though a pause is regularly made after *negas* and it is answered in three cases by *nego hercle vero*, it is entirely similar to *rogas*, *rogitas*.

4. *rogas*, *rogitas*, *negas* followed by other words.

rogitas etiam? Cas. V 4, 18.

rogas me? Men. 713, Amph. 571 (MSS *rogasne*. See O. Seyffert, Philol. 29 (1870), 385-6), Ad. 82, 665, Eun. 653; *rogitas*,

quod vidcs ? Ps. 1163; *rogitas quid sit ?* Heaut. 251; *negas, quod oculis video ?* Rud. 1067. *negas novisse me ?* (After *novi cum Calcha simul*) Men. 750. Pl. 6, Ter. 4.

5. *rogas, rogitas, negas* preceded by other words.

etiam rogas ? Bacch. 331, Merc. 202, Andr. 762; *etiam rogitas ?* Aul. 424, 437, 633; *me rogas ?* Men. 640, Heaut. 780, Mil. 426; *quid negoti sit, rogas ?* (cf. Becker, 198), Aul. 296, Mil. 317; *quid fiat, facias, agam, metuam*, etc. Ad. 288, Eun. 837, Heaut. 454, 780, Merc. 633 (V. Beck., 209, MSS *men rogas*), Amph. 1025, 1028, Aul. 551, Bacch. 65, 1196, Curc. 726, Merc. 721, Most. 907 (*ecquid*), Rud. 379, St. 333, Eun. 720, *de istac rogas virgine ?*

tu negas ? And. 909. Men. 630 (MSS *tun*) and 821 (MSS *tu*) have been given above under *tun*. Bx. reads *tu* in both, Rit. *tun*, but it is entirely likely that Pl. should use *tu* and *tun negas* without discrimination. On Capt. 571 see Bx. Anh., Langen, p. 220. *tu negas med esse* (sc. *Sosiam*)? Amph. 434, Fleck. *tun. etiam negas ?* Merc. 763. Pl. 23 [24], Ter. 8.

In all cases where *rogas, rogitas* has a dependent clause, the clause is repeated from the preceding question, e. g. *quid negotist ?* || *quid negoti sit, rogas ?* In such cases both the repetition and the verb *rogas* are exclamatory, and the implication is intended that no such question should have been asked. But in the few cases where new ideas are introduced the exclamatory rejection is less prominent and the questioning effect appears. The most distinct case is Eun. 720, *quid faciundum censes ?* || *de istac rogas virgine ?* || *ita*, where there is no rejection. Other cases of *negas* with infin. have a faint interrogative tone.

6. With a few other verbs in the 2d pers. pres. indic. These are not clearly marked off from other verbs (esp. *verba dicendi*) in the 2d pers., but a few cases will suffice to show that this exclamatory use is not confined to *rogas, rogitas, negas*, but extends also to other words. Only the cases in which the verb stands alone, or nearly alone, are given here, because with a dependent infin. or clause the distinction is less clear.

Hec. 527, *peperit filia ? hem, taces ? ex quo ?* Bacch. 777, *quid fit ? quam mox navigo . . . ? taces ?* Eun. 695, 821. In Merc. 164 *taces* is a conjecture of Ritschl, differing from all other cases in not coming immediately after a question: the passage is, besides, an interpolation. *derides ?* Merc. 907, Ad. 852. Ps. 1315 is improbable. *inrides ?* And. 204. *narras*, Heaut. 520 *nihil nimis*. || '*nihil*' *narras ?* And. 367, *non opinor*, Dave. || '*opinor*' *narras ?*

non recte accipis ; *certa res est*. Also Ph. 401. To these Ad. 398, *vigilantiam tuam tu mihi narras* ? bears the same relation that repetitions of an implied idea bear to exact repetitions. With these I should place Andr. 754, *male dicis* ? Hec. 706, *fugis* ? Heaut. 883, *ehem, Menedeme, advenis* ? (cf. *tu hic eras* ?). Men. 166, *agedum, odorare . . . quid olet* ? *apstines* ? In Ph. 515 A has *optundis*, the other MSS *obtunde* ; most editors follow Fleck. and read *optundes*. Phaedria has been pouring out petitions to Dorio, who does not trust his promises and expresses his deafness to prayers for mercy in this word, *optundis*, "You keep at it?" "You hammer away at my ears?" The future is entirely out of place, while the present is entirely in accord with the manner of Ter., who uses this kind of exclamation, especially with single words, very frequently. For parallel in sense, cf. Ad. 769, *tu verba fundis hic sapientia* ? and Andr. 348, *optundis, tam etsi intellego* ? Ps. 943 R. *meram iam mendacia fundes*, is properly future.

Here also belongs *cessas*, with or without infin. Cf. *cesso*, above. *cessas* ? Hec. 360, Ph. 565 ; *sed (tu) cessas* ? Hec. 814, Ph. 858 ; with infin., Andr. 343, Ad. 916. Not in Pl. Pl. 3 [4], Ter. 19.

To these might be added a considerable number of cases showing a less distinct relationship to *rogas*, and gradually shading off till the reference to the preceding speech or act would be imperceptible and the sentence would become distinctly interrogative. These cases will be given under other headings.

As the repetitions were marked, though not quite invariably, by having the verb near the end of the sentence, so in this class the distinction of function is marked by a special form, the use of the 2d pers. pres. indic. without dependent words, except *me*, *etiam* and a clause or infin. repeated from the preceding speech. The typical form is *rogas* and the departures from it are few and unimportant.

D.—QUESTIONS WITH *non* AND OTHER NEGATIVE WORDS.

Questions without a particle containing a negative word occur about two hundred times in Pl. and Ter. Of these about 180 have *non*. The problem in regard to these sentences is to see whether they have any special interrogative form, and to determine their relation to *nonne*.

1. *non* in repetitions. These may or may not have a verb. Cist. II 1, 35, *non edepol . . . recipis*. || *non* ? *hem, quid agis* ? Ad. 661, 803, Andr. 194, Heaut. 780. Asin. 445 is entirely uncertain. *quid* ? *non* ? Andr. 587, Heaut. 894.

Epid. 482, *haec non est ea. || quid? non est? || non est.* Most. 594, *non dat, non debet. || non debet?* Asin. 480, Men. 302, 503, Merc. 918, Poen. 173, 404, Ps. 326, Rud. 341, 1372, Ad. 112, Eun. 179, 679, Heaut. 612, Hec. 342. Pl. 12, Ter. 11.

Other cases occur in which the repeated idea is so expanded as to make it in part a new sentence, e.g. Most. 950, *nemo hic habitat. || non hic Philolaches adulescens habitat hisce in aedibus?* Cf. cases above, IV B. But the line which separates these from other *non*-questions is very indistinct, and I have preferred to place them below with other sentences of like form.

2. The remaining questions with *non*, except those having impv. effect, are arranged in three classes according to the position of *non* and the verb: (a) *non* and the verb together at the beginning of the sentence; (b) *non* and the verb together at the end; (c) *non* at the beginning, the verb at the end. These three arrangements do not, of course, cover all possible forms of sentence; *non* and the verb may be together in the middle of the sentence; they may be separated by a word or two, but generally the main part of the sentence, especially if there be a dependent infin., is not divided, but lies all together either after or before or between *non* and the verb.

(a). *non* and the verb are at the beginning of the sentence. Here are included some cases where *quaeso, eho, quid* or a vocative precedes, some in which *ego* or *tu* comes between *non* and the verb, and the short sentences consisting of *non* and the verb only.

non vides with infin. or clause. Asin. 472, *inpure, nihili, non video irasci?* Most. 811, *non vides tu hunc voltu uti tristist senex?* || *video.* Asin. 326, Bacch. 1136, Men. 947, Pers. 642, Ps. 1297, Rud. 942, Heaut. 1013. Without clause, Eun. 675, *ubi est?* || *rogitas? non vides?*

non tu scis with infin. or clause. Merc. 731, *non tu scis quae sit illaec?* || *immo iam scio.* Men. 714, 911, Mil. 1150, St. 606. Without clause, Asin. 215, *non tu scis? hic noster quaestus ancupis simillumust.* So Asin. 177, Amph. 703. The second sentence is here added paratactically, instead of being subordinated.

Other verbs in 2d pers. pres. indic. *non audes* with infin., Asin. 476, Ps. 1316 (A *nonne*), Truc. 425; *non audis*, with clause Ps. 230, alone like *non tu scis*, Poen. 1011; *non soles respicere te*, Ps. 612; *non intellegis?* Amph. 625; *non quis . . . durare*, Truc. 326; *non amas me?* Cas. V 4, 9; *non habes venalem amicam . . .* Ps. 341 (cf. 325); *non ornatis . . .?* Cas. III 2, 16; *non arbit-*

raris . . . ? Trin. 789 (MSS *nonne*); *non clamas* ? *non insanis* ? Ad. 727; *non cogitas* . . . ? Heaut. 239; *quid* ? *non obsecro es, quem* . . . ? Ph. 742.

Perf. indic. 2d pers. *non nosti nomen meum* ? Men. 294, Truc. 595; *non (con)meministi*, Men. 533, 1074, Epid. 639; *non audivisti* . . . ? Rud. 355; *non tu dixti* . . . ? And. 852 (MSS *dixtin*).

Impf. indic. Epid. 599. Fut., in short sentences, Cist. II 1, 31, 32, Merc. 750, Eun. 696.

Impersonals. *non licet* with infin. Mil. 1404, *non licet mihi dicere* ? Asin. 935, Ps. 252, Rud. 426, Truc. 747. *non (te) pudet*, Men. 708, Poen. 1301, Ph. 525. Without infin. or gen. the order indicates nothing; *non te pudet* ? Men. 741, and *non pudet te* ? Trin. 1017 are indistinguishable.

Other tenses and persons are less frequent. First pers. pres. Cas. III 6, 12. In Amph. 403 ff., where the MSS. give *nonne* in several cases, the close connection of the questions with each other obscures the effect of the order. There are three cases with 1st pers. I can see nothing to distinguish Amph. 539, *non* (MSS *nonne*) *ego possum, furcifer, te perdere* ? from Rud. 1125, *non ego te conprimere possum sine malo* ? though the order is different. Ph. 543, *non triumpho, si* . . . ? has clear *nonne* force, and, less clearly, Ph. 489, Trin. 1153.

Third pers. pres. indic. Hec. 360, *non sciunt ipsi viam* . . . ? St. 393, Eun. 839. Impf., Aul. 294, *quid* ? *hic non poterat* . . . ? Bacch. 563. Plupf., Ph. 804.

Pres. subjunct., Hec. 341, *quid faciam misera* ? *non visam uxorem Pamphili*, . . . ? Eun. 46, Ph. 419, Heaut. 583. Rud. 969 is conditional. Pl. 57, Ter. 18.

Many of the sentences just given might have been placed in the preceding class as repetitions of a previously implied negative. Thus *non nosti* follows *quisquis es* or some other expression of uncertainty; *non amas me* ? Cas. V 4, 9 is distinctly implied before; Ps. 341 has been asserted in 325; and so Ph. 742, Rud. 335, all cases of *(con)meministi* and of the pres. subj. 1st pers.

Further *non vides*, *non tu scis*, *non licet*, *non pudet* closely resemble *rogas* ? etc., in that they sum up in a single word the effect of the previous sentence. Cf. Eun. 675, *ubi est* ? || *rogitas* ? *non vides* ?

(b). *non* and the verb together, but not at the beginning of the sentence; in most cases at or near the end.

None in indic. with 1st pers.

Second pers. Epid. 514, *fides non reddis?* Eun. 463, *quid? hunc non vides?* Amph. 659, 937, Cist. III 11, Trin. 810. Perfect, Men. 505, *tuom parasitum non novisti?* Aul. 772. Fut., Mil. 696. Plupf., Ph. 384.

Third pers. Hec. 231, *cum puella anum suscepisse inimicitias non pudet?* Cas. IV 4, 25 (A, Gepp. *nonne*). In Asin. 395 the Goetz-Loewe text, *sed post non rediit huc?* seems to me improbable on account of *sed*, which is not found elsewhere in *non*-questions.

With subjunct., Eun. 798, *ego non tangam meam?* Impf., Eun. 591. In Rud. 723 the subjunc. is independent of the question.

Pl. 10 [11], Ter. 5.

These few cases are not different in sense from the preceding. *non pudet* at the end has the same relation to *non pudet* at the beginning that *quid sit me rogitas?* bears to *rogitas quid siet?*

(c). *non* and the verb are separated, *non* being at the beginning, the verb generally at the end.

In the first pers., Amph. 518, *carnufex, non ego te novi?* the same, Capt. 564, Men. 408. *non . . . sum*, Heaut. 920; *non . . . possum*, Rud. 1125. Amph. 406 has *nonne* in MSS. Perf. indic., Men. 512, *non ego te indutum foras exire vidi pallam?* Men. 631.

Second pers. pres. Pers. 385, *non tu nunc hominum mores vides, . . .?* Capt. 969, Cas. V 4, 28, Epid. 480, Men. 307, Merc. 133, 881, 913, 1014, Pers. 670, Rud. 347, 740, 870, And. 710, Ph. 492. Perf. indic., Epid. 638, *quis tu's homo, . . .?* || *non me novisti?* Mil. 428, Men. 438, Poen. 557, Rud. 1372, Heaut. 436. Impf. indic., Ad. 560, *non tu eum rus hunc modo produxe aibas?* || *factum*. Capt. 662, Pers. 415, Ps. 500. Fut. indic., And. 921, *non tu tuom malum aequo animo feres?* Eun. 819, Hec. 603, Ph. 1002.

Third pers. Bacch. 1193, *non tibi in mentemst, . . .?* Bacch. 1000, Cas. III 2, 17, Most. 950, Ad. 94, 754, Hec. 236, Ph. 392. Amph. 406 is in a series of *non*-questions, and in 404, 405, 407, 452 the MSS have *nonne*.

Pres. subjunct. 1st pers. Epid. 588, *non patrem ego te nomen . . .?* Truc. 732, Eun. 223. Impf. subjunc., Trin. 133, Curc. 552, (B *nonne*). Third pers., Ph. 119 in apodosis.

In a few cases, Asin. 652, And. 149, 752, Ad. 709, the verb is omitted.

Pl. 42, Ter. 18.

The following are corrupt or conjectural: Cas. III 5, 53, Men. 453, 823, Mil. 301, Most. 555, Poen. 258, Truc. 257, 259.

As has been said, this division is not entirely precise, either for

interrogative or for declarative sentences. Single words, mostly conjunctions or interjections, occasionally precede *non*, a pronoun or adverb (*nunc*) sometimes separates *non* and the verb, and in the third class, under (c), the verb is frequently followed by two or three words, instead of being at the end. Also, in using the order as a basis for comparison, sentences consisting of *non* and the verb only must of course be thrown out, as well as other short sentences like *non te pudet?* *non me novisti?* and perhaps *fides non reddis?* Cf. *non manum abstines?* Even *non nosti nomen meum?* cannot differ greatly from *tuom parasitum non novisti?* But longer sentences fall pretty plainly into these three classes.

There are no statistics in regard to the position of *non* in declarative sentences, but taking a single play, and counting only simple sentences like those used in questions, there are in Trin. 33 cases, divided as follows:

	Declar.	Interrog.
(a) <i>non</i> and verb early, . . .	6 = 18 per cent.	75 = 50 per cent.
(b) <i>non</i> and verb late, . . .	11 = 33 per cent.	15 = 10 per cent.
(c) <i>non</i> and verb separated, . . .	16 = 49 per cent.	60 = 40 per cent.

Taking the first two classes, it appears that *non* and the verb are put in the first place much more frequently in interrogative than in declarative sentences. This is due mainly to the large number of questions which resemble *rogas?* viz., *non vides*, *non tu scis*, *non nosti*, *non licet*, *non pudet*; the rest are either repetitions or sentences which would have *non* and the verb early for emphasis (Bx. on Trin. 414), even if they were declarative. A consideration of the order therefore strengthens the conclusion indicated by the meaning, that these are not properly questions, but exclamations, which presuppose a negative opinion on the part of the other speaker, and express doubt or rejection by repeating the negation in an exclamatory tone. In the cases under (a) only the verb and *non* belong to the repetition, and these therefore stand first as the starting-point of the speaker's thought. Cf. *Aul. 784, . . . renuntiare repudium iussit . . . || repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* Where the verb and *non* stand at the end, the exclamatory tone is sustained through the whole sentence.

In the third class, (c), *non* comes at the beginning of a declarative sentence almost invariably in order that it may go with some single word. So in the Trin. with *ita* 649, *fugitivos* 1027, *credibile* 606, *optuma* 392, *satis* 249, 623, *minus* 409, *edepol* 357, *temere*

740. In 705 only *enim* separates *non* from the verb; in 341, 414, 976 *non* contrasts one clause with another. The only cases in which it can go with the whole sentence are 480, 720 and perhaps 211. But when such sentences as these become interrogative they drop *non*, that is, they pass to the interrogation from the affirmation, not from the negation (cf. Paul, Princip.³ p. 110), and appear in the forms *itan est? fugitivosne est? satin habes?* etc. On the other hand, of the 60 cases in questions there are scarcely half a dozen in which *non* could be taken with any one word. It is true that it very frequently stands just before a personal pronoun, *ego, tu, me, mihi*, but it does not negative the pronoun, nor would the pronoun be emphatic if the sentence were declarative. This seems rather to be another instance of the expression of the personal pronoun under the influence of the interrogative inflection, and its presence and close connection with *non* strengthen the hypothesis that this form of sentence is properly interrogative, not exclamatory like (a) and (b). *non* is placed first in order that it may go with the whole sentence (= "is it not true that . . . ?").

Schrader gives 24 cases in Pl. and Ter. of *nonne*; of these 19 have the verb late, 4 contain only *nonne* and the verb, and only one (Ps. 1317 *nonne audes . . .*) has *non* and the verb together. In later Latin also, so far as I have been able to examine, *nonne* comes first and the verb at the end. I should therefore regard this third form of the *non* sentence as a true interrogation and the source of the *nonne* questions.

To this distinction *non* with pres. indic. 1st sing. seems to be an exception. Whatever its form, it has generally the meaning of *nonne*.

3. *non* with the second pers. pres. indic., with impv. force. *non taces?* Amph. 700, Asin. 931, Bacch. 470 (*non tu t.*), 627, Cas. V 4, 14, Curc. 712, Men. 618, 1026, Merc. 211, 484, 754, Most. 734, Ph. 987, 1004; *non tu (hinc, istinc) abis?* Men. 516, Ps. 1196, St. 603, Eun. 799; *non mihi respondes?* And. 743, Ph. 992; *non te tenes?* Men. 824; *non manes?* Ph. 849; *non tu te cohibes?* *non te respicis?* Heaut. 919; *non omittitis?* Ad. 942; *non manum abstines?* Ad. 781; *non tu tibi istam praetruncari linguam largiloquam iubes?* Mil. 318. *non taces?* Ps. 889 (B, Goetz); I prefer *non places* (CD, Lor.) Pl. 17, Ter. 10.

That these have impv. effect is shown by the reply *taceam?* Bacch. 627, Ph. 987, as if after *tace*. But the questioning effect

is also felt, as appears from the other form of answer *non* (*hercle vero*) *taceo*, Cas. V 4, 14, Curc. 912, Men. 618. These do not differ in any essential point from other questions with *non*, and something of impv. force may be felt in *non vides* (cf. *videsne*), *non tu scis* and even in *non licet*.

4. Other negatives used in questions without a particle are these:

nil. nil respondes? Ad. 641, Eun. 152, Poen. 259. These are like *non taces?* with an impv. effect. The other cases of *nihil* are all in Ter., Ad. 244, And. 949, Eun. 735, Hec. 462, 811; I should add Cas. prol. 78 and Merc. 912, generally punctuated with period.

nullus, Bacch. 718, Ps. 294, 1002; *nemo*, Ad. 529; *neque . . . neque*, Amph. 756, Pers. 131. Pl. 6 [8], Ter. 8.

The negative word in these sentences (except *nil respondes?*) is not at the beginning of the sentence and has no effect upon the question. Its presence is accidental, and the questions are like other forms of interrogative sentence without particle, with which they might have been classed.

E.—QUESTIONS WITH *iam* AND *etiam*.

Questions without a particle, having *iam* at or very near the beginning, occur 50 times, beside two (Ad. 700) without verb. In most of these *iam* has the same sense as in declarative sentences. Thus *iam ferio foris?* Men. 176 is "at once"; Merc. 222, *iam censes patrem abiisse a portu?* "by this time, already." So also with *nunc*, Ad. 290. With the perfect indic. the meaning "by this time, already, so soon" is quite distinct. In a few cases there is an approach to the impv. effect (cf. *etiam*). Merc. 884, *prehende. iam tenes?* || *teneo*. || *tene*. Most. 836, *iam vides?* Closely connected with this is a kind of assertive force, as if the sentence were both interrogative and strongly declarative. So most cases of *iam tenes?* *iam vides?* *iam scis?*

There are also a few cases in which I can see no time-force. Pers. 25, *iam servi hic amant?* Ps. 472, *iam tibi mirum id videtur?* (Rit. num., Lor. an). Asin. 929, *iam subrupuisti pallam, quam scorto dares?*

The passages in which *iam* is found are, with pres. indic. 1st pers., Men. 176, Eun. 814; 2d pers., Amph. 798, Asin. 338, Capt. prol. 10 (incomplete vs. Bx. *iamne*), Cist. II 3, 69, Epid. 25, 401, Merc. 222, 884, Most. 836 [III 2, 154 is a mere repetition], Pers.

528, 589, Poen. 578, Trin. 780 (*tenes iam?*), Truc. 881, Ad. 290, Eun. 703, 1016; fut., Heaut. 350; perf., Amph. 962, Asin. 929, Cas. II 3, 34, Merc. 658, Mil. 1344, Most. 668, Pers. 483 (MSS *an iam*), 484, Rud. 1386, St. 317, Trin. 912, Truc. 378. Third pers. pres., Pers. 25, 485, Poen. 590, Ps. 472, St. 529, Truc. 508 (twice), Ad. 388, Eun. 704; perf., Amph. 957, Asin. 410, 437, 638, Merc. 823, Mil. 1429, And. 806, Ph. 525, 796. The text is doubtful in Rud. 1383, 1369. Ad. 700 is without verb. Ph. 22 with period.

Pl. 40, Ter. 10.

With *etiam* the case is somewhat similar. It is used 68 times, and in many of these the sense does not differ from the uses well known in declarative sentences. Thus without time-force, "also, again," Asin. 677, *furcifer, etiam me delusisti?* Amph. 394, *etiam denuo*, Amph. 702, *etiam tu quoque*, Bacch. 127, *etiam me advorsus*, Epid. 711, Mil. 1206, Pers. 849, St. 427, Poen. 1234, Rud. 817, Ad. 243, 246, Ph. 769, Merc. 538, *etiam nunc*, Merc. 829, Ph. 931, And. 644, Eun. 286, 710 (but with a redundant syllable; Umpf. Dz. om. *nunc*). With time-force, "still, yet," Merc. 129, *at etiam asto?* *at etiam cesso . . .?* St. 574, *etiam valet?*

There are a few cases in which I do not see that *etiam* has any proper meaning. Bacch. 216, *sed Bacchis etiam fortis tibi visast?* cf. Mil. Glor. 1106, *ecquid fortis visast?* Most. 553, *etiam fatetur de hospite?* Pers. 651, *emam* [*eam*], *opinor*. || *etiam* 'opinor'?

The remaining cases all have the verb in 2d pers. pres. indic., and are of two distinct and well defined classes. First, *etiam* with or without *ne* is used to express an impv. So *etiam (tu) taces?* Curc. 41, Pers. 152, Trin. 514, 790, Ad. 550, *dicis* Pers. 278, *etiam quid respondetis mihi?* Bacch. 670; other cases are Bacch. 1168, Curc. 189, Aul. 255, Asin. 715, Pers. 275, 413, 542, Most. 383, Heaut. 235, Ph. 542. Also *acceptura es*, Rud. 469, and possibly Most. 513 (Lor.² *etiam tu fuge*, but the dialogue is confused). Also Men. 422, *etiam parasitum manes?* which Langen does not include.

Pl. 16, Ter. 3.

Second, *etiam* is used with the 2d pers. pres. in an exclamatory sentence. So *etiam rogas?* (Pl. 2, Ter. 3), *etiam rogitas?* (Pl. 3), given above under IV C. These, like *rogas?* alone, sum up a previous sentence, and *etiam* does not mean "again" or "still, yet," since the preceding question is frequently the first that has been asked. In some of the following cases *etiam* might be taken to mean "still" or "again." Merc. 896, *etiam metuis?* "are you still afraid?" Merc. 982, *etiam loquere?* "you still speak!" But

in most cases no such sense is possible, and these questions so closely resemble those given under IV C that it is difficult to draw any line between them. So *etiam minilare*? Bacch. 785, Truc. 621; *male loquere*, Pers. 290; *male loqui audes*, Capt. 563; *quaeris*, Merc. 981; *mones*, Bacch. 910; *multis*, Amph. 381, Pers. 827; *inrides*, Most. 1132; *derides*, Men. 499; *clamas*, Amph. 376; *negas*, Merc. 763 (IV C); *rides*, Eun. 1017. In the following the sense of "still" is possible or probable: Merc. 728, 896, 982, Rud. 877, Trin. 572, 708, 991, Eun. 668, Hec. 430, 507. Also Most. 851, at *etiam restas*? (Rit. *restas*: Lor.^a *restat*:)

Pl. 20, Ter. 4.

Andr. 849 should be *responde*, Rud. 733 is entirely confused, Rud. 711 might be included with the preceding, but is generally marked with a period. Bacch. 321, *etiam dimidium censes*? is condemned by Langen, p. 161, but retained, rightly, as I think, by Goetz.

Pl. 54, Ter. 14.

As has been said, there are about 900 questions without a particle in Pl. and Ter.; it now appears that more than 100 of these begin with *iam* and *etiam*. This raises two questions: (1) Were *iam* and *etiam* put at the beginning of the sentence, as *non* appears to have been, under the influence of the interrogative inflection? (2) Or did they, being already at the beginning of the sentence, take on an interrogative function?

As to the first question, a rough count shows that there are about 100 cases of *iam* in declarative sentences in the Amph., Asin., Aul. and Capt. In 30 of these *iam* goes with a subordinate verb or clause; of the remaining 70 about 40 have *iam* at the beginning. For *etiam* I have made no count, but believe the facts to be about the same. It appears likely, therefore, that the position of *iam* and *etiam* is not peculiar to questions, but is common to interrogative and declarative sentences.

The second question could be more surely answered if there were any discussion of the early uses of *iam* and *etiam*. The 42 cases of *iam* in declarative sentences are divided as to persons and tenses as follows:

	Pres.	Impf.	Fut.	Perf.	Pres. subj.	
1st pers.	8	...	14	2	1	= 25
2d pers.	1	1	...	...	...	= 2
3d pers.	9	...	6	...	...	= 15
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18	1	20	2	1	= 42

In questions as follows :

	Pres.	Fut.	Perf.	
1st pers.	2 (fut. sense) ...	...	...	= 2
2d pers.	17	1	12	= 30
3d pers.	9	...	9	= 18
	<hr/> 28	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 21	<hr/> = 50

Here is a marked tendency to use *iam* with the first pers. and the fut. in declarative sentences, but with the 2d pers. and the perf. in questions, the 3d pers. and the pres. remaining unchanged. This appears to indicate that *iam* expressed a kind of impatience or urgency, which I suppose to be connected with its use "in contrast with the time at which something was expected" (Harper's Lex., s. v., I. A, 2). A similar assertive force is plain in *etiam*, "and even, even," and in its use in answers, "just so, yes indeed." From the contrast between this subjective standard, which *iam* and *etiam* express, and the actual occurrence result the peculiar uses of these words in questions. Thus *etiam tu taces?* means "Are you keeping still at last? I should have expected it long ago." *etiam dicis ubi?* "Are you going to tell me at once? I asked you long ago." With *iam* this impv. force is much less distinct, but cf. Merc. 884, *prehende. iam tenes?* || *teneo.* || *tene*, with Pers. 413 ff., *accipin . . . ? accipe sis . . . tene sis . . . etiam tu . . . tenes?* So in *iam scis?* *iam vides?* there is a kind of challenge or demand, in which the expression of contrast is more important than the idea of time; "*now* you know, *now* you see, don't you? though before you didn't."

Langen says, Beitr. 160, in commenting upon Bacch. 319, with Ussing's note '*etiam* interrogantis,' "*etiam* hat aber in der Frage sonst immer seine besondere Bedeutung, hier würde es zu einer blossen Fragepartikel herabsinken." Below on the same page he says that the only case where *etiam* serves merely to give a special shading to the question is the impv. use. I have called attention above to some instances of *iam* (Pers. 25, Ps. 472, Asin. 929) and *etiam* (Bacch. 216, Most. 553, Pers. 651), mostly with the 3d pers., in which I can see no individual meaning for these words, where they seem to me "der Frage eine besondere Nüance zu geben," to use Langen's words. To these I should now add *etiam rogas, rogitas, minitare, negas*, etc., as being questions in which *etiam* has at the most only the meaning "actually, really,"

or, better expressed, has so far lost its proper sense as to serve merely to give a particular shade of meaning to the question, to make the question urgent and impatient and exclamatory. That is, *etiam* has almost and *iam* has less frequently assumed interrogative functions.¹ It is worth noting that *iam* is used without *ne* 50 times, with *ne* 38, while *etiam*, having more interrogative effect in itself, is used without *ne* 68 times, with *ne* only 26 times.

F.—CONTINUED, SUPPLEMENTARY, AND INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS.

Similar in a general way to the partially Interrogative sentences given above are certain forms of incomplete questions, which depend upon either a preceding or a following sentence. These for the most part explain themselves, and no full lists of them are given, but it seems worth while to point out their relation to and possible influence upon other forms of question.

1. To a previous question the speaker himself adds a second thought, either in a phrase or a clause, in order to define the main question more precisely.

The added words may follow the question immediately, and be so clearly a part of it as to make it doubtful whether all should not be considered one question. Ps. 617 ff., *esne tu an non es ab illo militi Macedonio? servos eius, qui . . . est mercatus . . . dederat . . . debet?* Mil. 994 f., *numquid hic prope adest, qui rem alienam potius curet quam suam? qui . . . ancupet? qui . . . vivat?* So Men. 380, Poen. 557 ff., Rud. 1185, St. 97, Eun. 46 f., 794, Hec. 676, Ph. 156.

More frequently the continuation is added after an interruption or a reply by the second speaker. In this case the interruption may be almost entirely neglected, as in Poen. 879 f., *scin tu erum tuom meo ero esse inimicum capitalem?* || *scio.* || *propter amorem?* Ph. 739, *quis hic loquitur?* || *Sophrona.* || *et meum nomen nominat?* Or the speaker may continue his question because the reply was inadequate, or because he desires to make his question more precise and so compel a different answer. Aul. 773, *dic bona fide: tu id aurum non subrupuisti?* || *bona.* || *neque scis quis id abstulerit?* || *istuc quoque bona.* Ps. 484 f., *ecquas viginti minas paritas ut auferas a me?* || *aps te ego auferam?* || *ita: quas meo*

¹ In Bacch. 670, *etiam quid respondetis mihi?* the indef. *quid* is used after *etiam* exactly as it is used after the recognized particles *num*, *ec*- and *an*.

gnato des, qui amicam liberet? See esp. Rud. IV 8 (1265 ff.) Other examples are Most. 974 ff., Poen. 725, 732, Heaut. 894, etc.—about 30 in all. In some cases the continuation begins with *at*, correcting the previous question, and this may make the continuation amount in sense to a new question, though in the form of the original question. Heaut. 973, *ere, licetne?* || *loquere.* || *at tuto?* (all edd. use period). St. 342, *ecquem convenisti?* || *multos.* || *at virum?* Hec. 804, *es tu Myconius?* || *non sum.* || *at Callidemides?* The string of names in Trin. 916 f. is entirely similar, though *at* is not used.

When the original sentence is a *quis*-question, the second part is not so closely dependent upon the main sentence, but it implies, in the full logical expression of the thought, a repetition of the leading verb. Amph. prol. 52, *quid contraxistis frontem?* *quia tragoediam dixi futuram hanc?* Pers. 718, *quo illum sequar?* *in Persas?* *nugas.* About half a dozen cases.

In all continued questions the previous speech is itself a question, and in the words added by the same speaker there is no real interrogative force. They take over the interrogation, with whatever shading of genuine desire for information, of rejection or of exclamation it may have, from the main question. This fact sufficiently explains the absence of an interrogative particle.

2. Resembling these in form but differing essentially in character are the semi-interrogative phrases or clauses which supplement a remark made by the other speaker. In these the interrogation, so far as there is any, is not in the words but in the unexpressed idea, "Do you mean your remark in this way,—if this idea is added?" Hec. 809, *dic me orare ut veniat.* || *ad te?* "(Do you mean) to you?" Heaut. 778, *argentum dabitur ei ad nuptias, aurum atque vestem qui—tenesne?* || *comparet?* "get ready, do you mean?" Amph. 805, *ego accubui simul.* || *in eodem lecto?* || *in eodem.* Aul. 148, Ad. 536, Heaut. 905—about 12 in all. A relative clause may be added in this way, either with (see I. K.) or without *ne*. So Epid. 700, Mil. 973, with Brix's note, Ad. 530, Heaut. 1018.

There are a few places where a brief question is added, not depending upon what has been said, but using the framework of the previous sentence. Ph. 209, *quin abeo?* || *et quidem ego?* Rud. 1161, *ubi loci sunt spes meae?* || *immo edepol meae?* With these I should class a few brief demands, consisting of a word or two and immediately connected with the previous remark. Andr.

928, *ibi mortuost.* || *eius nomen?* Eun. 317, *color verus, corpus solidum*— || *anni?* Eun. 810.

Here belong finally all questions with *si* (*sin, verum si, at si etsi*). Ph. 492, *nondum mihi credis?* || *ariolare.* || *sin fidem do?* Cf. esp. And. 348, *nuptiae mi*— || *etsi scio?* || *hodie*— || *optundis, tam etsi intellego?* About 10 cases.

3. If the main verb is in the second part of the question, then the first part may shrink away into an almost meaningless phrase, whose only function is to introduce with vividness the main question. This is the case with *ain?* which introduces an exclamatory repetition, with *audin?* introducing a command, and sometimes with *scin tu?* Also *quid?* is used most frequently before exclamations, *quid nunc?* before questions, and *quid ais?* before regular and somewhat formal questions. All of these occur often before questions without a particle, and it is probable that these words of themselves marked the following sentence as interrogative and made the particle unnecessary. In the same way, when two independent questions of similar form are used together, *ne* in the first would suffice for both; cf. Capt. 139, *egone illum non fleam? ego non defleam . . .?* with Brix's note. These are only continued questions, in which the second part has a main verb and has become grammatically independent, but is still so far dependent as to have no separate sign of interrogation.¹

¹ Continued questions are common in Pl., but interruptions and supplementary phrases seem to be used much more frequently by Ter.

*Concluding Paper.*G. QUESTIONS WITHOUT A PARTICLE HAVING THE VERB
NEAR THE BEGINNING.

In the preceding divisions have been given all the varieties of question which are marked by a distinct relation to the preceding sentence or by the presence of some single word having interrogative or partially interrogative functions. The questions which remain can be distinguished only by peculiarities of order.

For an exhaustive classification it would no doubt be necessary to consider all possible variations from the so-called normal order, especially in the case of pronouns, personal and demonstrative. But the instances would be few in number and the results slight, and I have thought it sufficient to make two divisions according as the verb does or does not retain its normal position at the end of the sentence. A third division might be made of those sentences which consist only of the verb, but most of these have already been given under IV C, *rogas, negas*, etc.

Under the head of sentences in which the verb is near the beginning are included all with *at, sed*, etc., and those in which a subordinate clause precedes the main clause, if it seems clear that the questioning begins only with the main clause. Absolute precision is impossible, e. g. Eun. 705 and 951 are classed here.

As these sentences are similar, except for the absence of the particle, to those in which *ne* is appended to the verb, a comparison of the two kinds may be expected to shed light upon the uses of *ne*, and perhaps upon the origin of the interrogative sentence.

Indic. pres., 1st pers. Andr. 423, *sum verus?* is the only case of *sum*. Eugraph. seems to take it as a declarative sentence (id est 'vera dico'), like the Engl. "I told you so!" As a question it is parallel to Rud. 865, *sumne ibi?* with strong *nonne* effect. Eun. 532, *dico ego mi insidias fieri?* refers back to 507 ff. and means "Am I not right in saying that they are plotting against me?" That is, it has a distinct *nonne* effect; cf. Amph. 433, *vincon*

argumentis, te non esse Sosiam? In other passages the pres. has fut. sense: Most. 774, *eon? voco huc hominem?* || *i voca*, is really only one question, *eon, voco*; Poen. 1224, *pergo etiam temptare?* is confused in the MSS and the text is entirely uncertain; Most. 848, *ergo eo igitur sine perductore?* || *i, licet*, is also confused and is generally printed with a period; Ph. 737, *quid ago?* || . . . || *adeo, maneo, dum haec quae loquitur magis cognosco?* (MSS exc. A have *adeon an*). With *ne* there are six cases parallel to these. Cist. 288 Uss., And. 500 Speng. I should print with a period. Pl. [3], Ter. 2 [3].

Indic. pres., 2d pers., in alphabetical order. Hec. 458, *advenis modo?* "Just come?" is a questioning comment, not a question; cf. Heaut. 883. Amph. 561, *audes mihi praedicare id, domi te esse nunc, qui hic ades?* is similar to *rogas*. Pers. 214, *sed quid tu? confitere, ut te autumo?* is a genuine question, "But what about you? Do you confess . . .?" Also Heaut. 1015 Dz. Eun. 705, *age nunc, bellua, credis huic quod dicat?* is precisely like the cases of *credin*, with the same suggestion of *num* effect. Hec. 803, *adulescens, dic dum quaeso, es tu Myconius?* would be similar to *esne* Men. 1109, but the *vs.* is imperfect; *tun es*, an early conjecture, is generally adopted. Trin. 318, *exprobras, bene quod fecisti?* would be parallel to *rogas*, but I should read *quid exprobras* with Bx. and MSS. Ps. 488, *fatere? dic*, is similar to Capt. 317, *sed faterin . . .?* but there is no necessity for changing to *faterin*, as proposed by Becker, 132; cf. *confitere* above. Heaut. 765, *vah, gloriare evenisse ex sententia?* is not a question, but like *rogas*. Also Heaut. 982, *inrides in re tanta neque me consilio quicquam adiuvas?* Poen. 1103, *intellegis?* at the end of a long explanation, cf. *tenesne, iam tenes, tenes*, is a question, but with some slight *impv.* effect. Heaut. 537, *eho, quaeso, laudas, qui eros fallunt?* is like *rogas*. Pers. 357, *quid? metuis ne te vendam?* Heaut. 1017, *quid? metuis ne . . .?* are influenced by *quid?* and are exclamatory rather than interrogative. So also Aul. 720, *nescis?* (though this may be a repetition), And. 791, *eho inepta, nescis quid sit actum?* and Andr. 348, *obtundis, tam etsi intellego?* (Speng. uses period). Ps. 85, *sed potes nunc mutuam drachumam mihi unam dare, . . .?* is precisely parallel to *potin* with the *infin.* Pers. 733, *redis tu tandem?* is like *advenis modo?* above. Pers. 379, *scis nam tibi quae praecepi?* Eun. 952, 1035, 1036 (twice), Heaut. 529 and Ad. 215 are all parallel to corresponding forms with *scin*. In Heaut. 529,

scis esse factum ut dico? the *nonne* effect is produced by *ut dico*. Ps. 216 (Lor. Goetz, period), Heaut. 700, Ph. 214, *tenes?* are like *tenesne*, Heaut. 778. Ps. 1157, *vides, iam die (diem Lor.) multum esse?* is parallel to *viden* with *infin.* having *nonne* effect. Most. 1105, *aspicedum contra me. || aspexi. || vides?* || *video* is not quite clear without the stage "business," but is apparently exclamatory. Andr. 898, *impera. vis me uxorem ducere? hanc vis mittere? ut potero, feram*; the corresponding forms with *vin* imply an offer of service, these are more nearly neutral, and so have the effect of a protasis with *feram* for apodosis.

Pl. 12 [13], Ter. 19 [20].

Indic. pres. 3d pers. Ad. 924, *iubet frater?* These are the first words of a scene and are probably meant as a repetition of words supposed to have been spoken off the stage. Ph. 352, *negat Phanium esse hanc sibi cognatam Demipho? hanc Demipho negat esse cognatam?* These are both exclamatory and similar to repetitions. Men. 923, *dic mihi hoc: solent tibi umquam oculi duri fieri?* and Poen. 755, *valent apud te quos volo?* are unemotional questions for information, as are two cases of *licet*, Curc. 621 and Mil. 1329, and one of *placet*, Ad. 736. Rud. 803, *licet sallem istas mi appellare?* I should punctuate with period because of *saltem*.

In Amph. 995, *amat? sapit*, Eun. 252, *negat quis? nego: ait?* *aio*, the questions stand for protases and may be punctuated *amat: sapit*. The usage is well known.

Instances of *est (sunt)* are Aul. 357, Men. 1107 (twice), Merc. 563, Poen. 165, 253 (*adsunt*), Ad. 556, 778, And. 789. In St. 186, *promitte vero: ne gravare: est commodum?* (so Rit. Goetz) I should prefer a period. All these are regular questions, absolutely the same as similar forms with *estne*; cf. e. g. Heaut. 454, *estne ea intus?* with And. 789, *est Simo intus?*

Pl. 11 [13], Ter. 8.

Indic. impf. Ad. 693, *quid? credebas dormienti haec tibi confecturos deos?* Ph. 902, *verebamini ne id non facerem quod recepissem semel?* (Dz. *an rebamini*, v. Krit. Anh.) Both are exclamatory.

Ter. 2.

Indic. fut. Truc. 206, *ibo igitur intro?* || *quippini?* is parallel to Mil. 1242, *adibon*; both are unusual because of the tense. Hec. 672, *quid dixti?* *eho, an non alemus, Pamphile? prodemus, quaeso, potius?* is exclamatory, as if repeated from a previous

speech. Curc. 73, Ad. 192 are exclamatory and properly future. On *obtundes* ? or *obtundis* ? Ph. 515, see under IV C.

Pl. 2, Ter. 2 [3].

Indic. perf. In the 1st person only Cas. V 4, 18, beside those already given under IV B. In the 2d pers. the only clear cases are Mil. 829, *prompsisti tu vinum* ? Poen. 723, *vidistis leno quom aurum accepit* ? and Rud. 378, *cavistis ergo tu atque erus ne abiret, . . .* ? In other cases the MSS vary. Most. 594, Epid. 539, 554, Cist. III 15 are entirely uncertain. In Aul. 171, And. 975, Eun. 692, Heaut. 684, 731 the metrical probabilities favor the forms without *ne* ; in Mil. 556 A has *vidisti*, and so Bx. Lor. In spite of the uncertainty (see above I, A, *ne* with the perf. indic.), it is clear that the forms without *ne* are regular questions ; indeed, the uncertainty itself shows that there is no difference in sense between the questions with *ne* and those without *ne*. In the 3d pers. Heaut. 978, *abiit* ? is exclamatory, recognizing a fact, not asking a question. Hec. 527, *peperit filia* ? *hem, taces* ? is usually printed with colon ; I can see no reason why a question mark should not be used. Some other cases have been given under IV*B.

Pl. 6, Ter. 6.

Plupf. Eun. 429 is exclamatory.

Periphrastic forms are Ad. 796, *dictum hoc inter nos fuit . . .* ? *responde*, And. 665, *factum hoc est, Dave* ? || *factum* ; these are regular questions, though the first has *nonne* effect. And. 751, *dictura es quod rogo* ? has impv. force, but see above I, A, *ne* with fut. ptc. Rud. 982, *quid ais, . . .* ? *ausu's etiam comparare vidulum cum piscibus* ? (Seyffert, Sch., *ausis*). Pl. 1, Ter. 3.

Subjunctive pres. Men. 539, *dicam curare* ? Bacch. 65 ff., *adulescens homo penetrem me huiusmodi in palaestram, . . .* ? Ad. 625, *nunc quid faciam* ? *dicam fratris esse hanc* ? And. 640, Eun. 49, Ph. 186, *quid remedium inveniam . . .* ? *loquarne* ? *incendam* : *taceam* ? *instigem* : *purgem me* ? *laterem lavem*. This last has the force of a condition. In the 2d pers. Asin. 878, *possis, si forte . . . videas, cognoscere* ? cf. Merc. 518, *possin*, with the same sense. Asin. 814, 815. Impf. Ad. 395 ; Wag. Fleck. Dz. insert *num*. All these have precise parallels with *ne*.

Pl. 5, Ter. 5 [6].

Summing these up it appears, in the first place, that about one-third, including most of the sentences which consist of the verb alone, are not properly interrogative, but exclamatory, and closely related to repetitions and to *rogas* ? and *negas* ? So *advenis*

modo ? means "Just come, have you?" not "Have you just come?" *abiit* ? means "He's gone?" cf. *satin abiit* ? and *quid* ? *metuis* . . . ? is "What! you're afraid that . . . ?" The large preponderance of cases from Ter. is partly due to the fact that he uses exclamations (cf. *rogas*, *rogitas*) more frequently than Pl. These exclamations have few parallels among questions with *ne* appended to the verb.

In the second place, of the cases which have parallels in questions with *ne*, nearly all are unemotional questions, asked for information. These comprise about half of the whole number, and the correspondence between them and forms with *ne* is so close as to make it plain that *ne* is not at all necessary to an unemotional question. Pl. could say *est* or *estne* without difference of meaning. Nor is *ne* essential in all idiomatic and emotional forms of question; the effect of *num* is given without it (*credis* = *credin*), and the effect of *nonne* in about half a dozen cases. Of impv. questions, however, there are no clear cases, and there are comparatively few idioms, like those with *ain*, *audin*, *scin*, *viden*; the few cases that do occur are of the simplest sort. While, therefore, *ne* is not essential to the genuine question nor even to some kinds of idiom, it appears that the widest development of idiomatic questions is to be found only in connection with *ne*. But because of the small number of questions without *ne* this conclusion should not be pushed too far.

H. SENTENCES HAVING THE VERB NEAR THE END.

Under this head are placed also the few cases in which the verb is neither at the beginning nor at the end, for which it has not seemed necessary to make separate classes.

So far as these sentences correspond to questions with *ne*, given in the various sub-classes I. B-K, the parallels will be pointed out. Of the sentences which have no parallels with *ne*, which are too numerous to be given in full, sufficient illustrations will be given.

Indic. pres. 1st pers. And. 906, *Andrium ego Critonem video* ? *certe is est*, corresponds in sense to *videon* in soliloquy. Heaut. 579, *Clitipho, haec ego praecipio tibi* ? is parallel to *haecine*, e. g. Most. 25 f., with rejecting effect. There is no case parallel to Ph. 812, *hanc igitur mittimus* ? And. 921, *ego istaec moveo aut curo* ? Eun. 179 (and Hec. 875 without verb) are exactly like Ph. 999, *egon timeo* ? i. e. they repeat and reject an idea already suggested. Merc. 172, *tandem indignus videor* ? if the text is correct, is

exclamatory, as is Andr. 500, *inrideor* ? which only Speng. prints as question. Amph. 391, Cas. V 4, 28, *tuae fidei credo* ? || *meae*, are hesitating declarative sentences, "I trust to your honor?" not as Uss. says, equivalent to *credamne*, and entirely different from Andr. 497.

Pl. 3, Ter. 6.

Pres. indic., 2d pers. Ad. 596, *id quia non est a me factum, agis gratias* ? has some questioning effect, due perhaps to the fact that the verb stands first in the main clause. Ph. 985, *rape hunc*. || *sic agitis* ? is exclamatory and rejecting, but has many parallels with *ne*, e. g. Ad. 128, Eun. 99, *sicine agis* ? Men. 1108, *patrem fuisse Moschum tibi ais* ? and Andr. 908 do not differ greatly from *ain* with infin. Men. 741 (*attines*) is exclamatory. Asin. 485 (see above under *ain*), Men. 514, 924, Rud. 1099, Trin. 695, Hec. 675, Andr. 545, all with *censes*, are like *censen* in having a rejecting force which comes partly from the sense of *censeo*, but differ from *censen* in being less distinctly interrogative; cf. also Andr. 505. Eun. 897 (*cogitas*) is like *censes*. Capt. 556, Trin. 649, Ad. 748, Eun. 245, Heaut. 729, all with *credis*, have an infin. and exclamatory effect, except Capt. 556, which corresponds pretty closely to Eun. 812, *credin* ? with interrogative force. Ps. 1315, *at negabas daturum esse te mihi: tamen das* ? is really declarative, with slight interrogative inflection. All cases of *dan* have impv. effect. Hec. 524, . . . *mi vir* || *vir ego tuos sim* ? *tu virum me aut hominem deputas adeo esse* ? is exclamatory and has parallels with *tun*. Men. 1139, *hanc tu dicis, frater, pallam, . . .* ? (Fleck. Rit. *hancine*, which would be equally correct in sense), Merc. 912, Trin. 466, Heaut. 596, 888, all with *dicis*, are declarative with slight questioning or exclamatory inflection; *dicisne*, used only twice, is impv. Ad. 104, *tu nunc tibi id laudi ducis, quod tum fecisti inopia* ? is exclamatory, like *rogas*. Andr. 321, *hodie uxorem ducis* ? || *aiunt*, is almost declarative, with faint questioning inflection. With *es*, Men. 1078, *quae haec fabulast* ? *tu's Menaechmus* ? is an exclamatory repetition; Trin. 987, *ipsus es* ? and Poen. 866, *malus es* ? are questioning; Rud. 1305 is so nearly declarative that it might equally well be printed with a period; Trin. 635, *tu mihi es melior quam egomet mihi* ? (Rit.^s *tun*) has been given under *tun*, but in either case it would be exclamatory. I should read *tu* with Bx., but without accepting his reason (Krit. Anh.), "da die energische Frage ohne *ne* für den Ausdruck des Unwillens viel angemessener ist." Ad. 167, *ceterum hoc nili facis* ? is exclamatory. Umpf. uses a period.

Ad. 769, *ohe iam : tu verba fundis hic sapientia ?* is exclamatory. Heaut. 718, *tantum sat habes ?* is exclamatory, not questioning like *satin habes, si*. Asin. 579, *hoc quod rogo responde. || rogita quod vis. || argenti viginti minas habes nunc ?* (so Müll., Goetz. MSS *habesne*). The position of *habesne* is without a parallel in Pl., but Müller's reading is not at all satisfying; *habes nunc* would be almost a declarative sentence, while the context calls for a formal and unemotional question, like those with *haben*. Pers. 850, *inrides*, and Ad. 135, *irascere*, are like *rogas*. Heaut. 315, *hoc vide : in mea vita tu tibi is quaesitum, scelus ?* is exclamatory; *in (isne)* has impv. force. Asin. 593, *salve. || salvere me iubes, quoi tu abiens adfers morbum ?* usually printed with period, is like *rogas*, as is Eun. 1053, *laudas*. Merc. 160, *dormientis spectatores metuis ne ex somno excites ?* is half-declarative. Ps. 442, *mirare*, And. 764, *nescis*, Most. 16, *obiectas*, Rud. 876, *opsecras* (Vulg. Sch. with period), Asin. 189, Cist. Frag. IX, Ben., *postulas*, Truc. 413, *procuras* (Sch. prints as exclamation) are all either exclamatory or declarative. Merc. 654, *cedo . . . amorem te hic relicturum putas ?* has considerable questioning force, due probably to *cedo*. Heaut. 741, *dignam me putas . . . ?* Amph. 284, are like *censes*. Eun. 426, *lepus tute es : pulpamentum quaeris ?* might as well be declarative; cf. Wagner's note. Amph. 816, *quaeris*, is exactly like *rogas*. Asin. 398, *tu id nunc refers ?* is like cases with *tun*, expressing rejection. Hec. 706, Ph. 684, *respondes*, are like *taces, rogas*. Aul. 214, Poen. 724, Heaut. 181, *scis (scitis)*, differ from *scin* in that they take the knowledge for granted and are only slightly interrogative. In Merc. 719, *sic tu me temptas sciens ?* there is less emphasis upon *sic* than in questions with *sicine*, but the rejecting force is the same. Cist. Frag. II Ben., *quid ? tuam times amicam . . . ?* and Heaut. 910, *quid ? istuc times . . . ?* are exclamatory. Ad. 233, *nunc demum venis ?* is partially declarative. Ph. 60, *verere*, is like *metuis, times* and other verbs of emotion. With *vis* the case is less clear. Men. 1155, *ergo nunc iam vis conclamari auctionem fore ?* Rud. 1074, And. 708 all have questioning force, and in all *vis* precedes the dependent verb, infin. or subjunct. So also in Hec. 787, where A has . . . *ob eam rem. || vin ergo intro eam ?* the other MSS || *ob eam rem vis ergo intro eam ?* which latter I believe to be correct. Heaut. 87, *scire hoc vis ?* takes up *fac me ut sciam* of 84, and has very little questioning force. Pers. 681, *quod te dignumst, me dignum esse vis ?* is exclamatory and rejecting. Most. 262, *scita's tu qui-*

dem. nova pictura interpolare vis opus lepidissimum? is so clearly declarative that it might better have a period. Mil. 68 (I 1, 38) and Ps. 47 have been given above. Men. 848, *votas*, is like *rogas*, and Ritschl's conj. *men* is unnecessary. Ps. 826, *utere*, is repudiating, with some slight questioning force from *quid tu?*

In 2d pers. Pl. 40, Ter. 32.

In the cases which follow it is not necessary to do more than indicate the general group, questioning, exclamatory or declarative, to which the sentence seems most nearly allied, and even this general grouping cannot be precise, since these three tendencies may all appear in a single sentence.

In the 3d pers. pres. indic. Ad. 246, *omnes dentes labefecit, . . . : etiam insuper defraudat?* is the nearest representative of the interrogation. Five with *videtur*, Ba. 854, Ps. 472, Rud. 983, 1230, Ph. 1033, and Ad. 736, *placet*, are exclamatory and rejecting. Curc. 572, Aul. 720, Hec. 500 (Wag. with period), and Merc. 714 are declarative with slight questioning or exclamatory force. In Merc. 714 a period would express the sense equally well. Merc. 948, Truc. 585, Cas. 353 Gepp. are entirely uncertain. Eun. 733 is given under *multon*, Ps. 1002, And. 949 under *non*.

Cases with *est* are more frequent, and about half have an introductory phrase or semi-parenthetic verb like *quaeso*, *opsecro*. Interrogative are Amph. 774, *salvom signumst?* || *inspice*. || *recte*, Ba. 718, *nulla*, Epid. 643, Rud. 284, 1054. The exclamatory sentences are mainly repetitions, Ad. 950, . . . *paulum* . . . || *paulum id autemst?* Merc. 534, 974, Most. 628, Pers. 491, Rud. 740, 1399, And. 875; these are repetitions with *est* added. Ad. 707 is like *hocine*; Hec. 527 like *istucine*; Bacch. 616, Rud. 960, Heaut. 607 have slight interrogative force, and so resemble adjectives with *ne*. Ps. 294 (2), Rud. 1113, Ad. 388, Heaut. 583 are rejecting exclamations. Most. 444, *sed quid hoc? occlusa ianuast interdus?* is usually printed with period, but is like other partially declarative sentences. So also Eun. 1040.

Pl. 24, Ter. 12.

Indic impf. Eun. 155, *aut ego nescibam quorsum tu ires?* (So Umpf. *at*, with period, Bent. Wag: Dz.) This is an ironical declarative sentence, and approaches a question, though not closely enough to warrant the interrogative sign. Men. 1122, *dic mihi: uno nomine ambo eratis?* is clearly interrogative. Men. 625, Pers. 686, Ad. 901, Ph. 858 are exclamatory. Heaut. 907, *hem, Clinia haec fieri videbat?* is a hesitating assertion. Pl. 3, Ter. 3 [4].

Indic. fut. Mil. 1021, *quid ego? hic astabo . . .?* Rud. 658, Curc. 204 are rejecting exclamations. Rud. 1270 has more questioning force. In 2d pers. Capt. 892, Merc. 649, Eun. 690, Hec. 232 are strongly repudiating. Aul. 773, 774 are in a series of questions which demand a promise rather than ask for a reply. They are imperative futures with slight interrogative inflection. In Eun. 536 the MSS favor *malam rem hinc ibis?* with impv. effect; this is without parallel, but Ter. shows considerable variety in impv. questions. In the 3d pers. Poen. 729, *quid si . . . pultem?* || *censeo*. || *si pultem, non recludet?* is equivalent to *quid si pultem atque ille non recludet?* Merc. 458, 459, Eun. 638 are exclamatory. In Cas. III 5, 38 *ne* is called for by the metre. Men. 792, . . . *ibi potat*. || *tua quidem ille causa potabit minus*, . . .? is exactly like Capt. 845, Pers. 747, and Rit. has *tuan* here also; but *ne* is not at all necessary to the sense.

Pl. 12, Ter. 4.

Indic. perf. Men. 394 is exclamatory and is in sense a repetition; Cas. V 4, 16, *ego istuc feci?* is an exclamation with precisely the same sense as *egon*. Asin. 410, *hodie salvere iussi Libanum libertum? iam manu emissust?* is an ironical assertion with slight interrogative force. Eun. 420, *quid illud, Gnatho, quo pacto Rhodium tetigerim in convivio, numquam tibi dixi?* involves an anacoluthon, and the strong interrogative force is due to that fact.

Indic. perf. 2d pers. Interrogative effect is somewhat distinct in Epid. 596 (with *quid*), Mil. 1219 (with *opsecro*), Poen. 759, Heaut. 884 (both with *dic mihi*), Heaut. 830. On Andr. 742 see *tun*; for Ph. 577 see perf. with *ne*. The following are repudiating exclamations: Amph. 725 (cf. 717), Asin. 926, Capt. 717, Pers. 798, Rud. 993, Trin. 138, Eun. 241, Heaut. 685, Ph. 467. The declarative force is prominent in Asin. 252 f. (only Uss. prints as question), Asin. 416, Most. 1010 (both of these might as well have a period, since the interrogative effect is barely perceptible), Poen. 591, And. 586. Cist. II 3, 39 is entirely confused.

In the 3d pers. Asin. 432, *eho, Coriscus pro vectura olivi rem soluit?* || *solvit*, 441, *Dromo mercedem rettulit?* are interrogative, but they have an intentionally peremptory tone, as from a superior to an inferior; cf. 444, where *rettulitne* is at the end of the sentence.¹ Bacch. 502 is equivalent to a condition. Mil. 1043, And.

¹ Other cases where the omission of *ne* appears to be associated with an urgent and peremptory tone are And. 665, *factum hoc est, Dave?* 751, *dic-*

241 are exclamations. Most. 977, 978, Pers. 131 are assertions which get a slight interrogative tone from the context.

Pl. 23, Ter. 8.

Indic. plupf. only in Ad. 465, *noras*, with declarative force.

Ter. 1.

Indic. fut. pf. Truc. 547, where Speng. uses period. Pl. 1.

Compound forms are all in the perfect. Rud. 187 is exclamatory, but the text is somewhat uncertain. St. 372, *hem, quid? Epignomum elocutu's?* is like *ais*, referring to what has just been said. Heaut. 522, *faceta haec meretrix. || sane. || idem visast tibi?* "You think so too?" has as much questioning force as any; the rest are clearly exclamatory or declarative, Cist. II 1, 16, Epid. 650 (*quid?*), Heaut. 580, Merc. 976, Asin. 330, Men. 611, Capt. 568, Ps. 631; in the last four I should use a period.

Pl. 9, Ter. 2.

With the subjunctive a dependent infin. is rarely used, and the sentences are for the most part so short that the position of the verb cannot be expected to have much influence upon the meaning.

Subj. pres., 1st pers. Bacch. 903, *hodie exigam aurum hoc? || exige*, and Trin. 59, *vin conmutemus? tuam ego ducam et tu meam?* are the only cases which have any questioning force. The rest are all exclamatory and rejecting, like *egone* with the pres. subj. They are Asin. 506 (Goetz *ubi*), Aul. 45, Capt. 139 (Sch. *egone*), Pers. 26, Poen. 352, 730, Ps. 318, St. 297, And. 231, Eun. 798, Heaut. 131, 413, Hec. 434, Ph. 419, 1022.

With the 2d pers. all cases are exclamatory and correspond to *tun* with subjunct. They are Asin. 489, 812 (?), Merc. 575, And. 619, Eun. 460, Hec. 589.

With the 3d pers., all exclamatory, Curc. 193, Truc. 754, Heaut. 128 ff., Ph. 813. Also Hec. 878, Dz.; Um. *an*.

In the impf. all are exclamatory, and repeat with more or less of distinctness a suggestion already expressed: Most. 183, Rud. 842 (Sch. *quid ego*, etc., without any mark after *quid*), Truc. 625. Truc. 501 is utterly confused; Aul. 286 should have a period; Trin. 957, where the MSS have *mihi*, Rit. Bx. *mihin concrederet*, has been placed under *mihin*, I. B, because there is no precise

tura es quod rogo? Mil. 829, *prompsisti tu illi vinum?* 833, *neque tu bibisti?* I have noted no cases exactly like those in the Asin., and this suggestion may be fanciful, but an assertive form of question might easily be rudely and harshly employed.

parallel without *ne*, yet I greatly doubt whether *ne* is at all necessary. A few of these cases have been given above, IV B and D.

Pl. 17, Ter. 13.

As has been remarked, these sentences exhibit three tendencies. They are (*a*) declarative sentences with slight interrogative inflection, (*b*) exclamations, mostly with repudiating effect, or (*c*) questions like those in the preceding class. These are not different kinds of questions, but merely different uses to which this one kind of sentence may be put. Of the declarative sentences there are about 40 cases. They are nothing more than ordinary declarations, made with some hesitation, which was no doubt expressed by the voice, but was not sufficiently strong or not sufficiently concentrated upon any single word to bring about a change from the normal position of the verb in a declarative sentence. In fact, as in sentences with *scilicet*, *fortasse* or a parenthetic *credo* (see IV A), the hesitation was not about any single word, but about the correctness of the statement as a whole. The exclamations, which include about 140 of the 200 cases, are like the other kinds of exclamatory sentence already given and express doubt or wonder or absolute incredulity by repeating with exclamatory inflection the statement which has excited the emotion. In most cases they repudiate the statement. Even in the third use, in the 20 or 25 cases which most nearly approach a real interrogation, something of declarative or exclamatory effect generally appears, indicating that these are essentially like the other uses, and differ from them less widely than they do from sentences in which the inflection has been strong enough to bring the verb to the first place in the sentence. In most cases, also, the interrogation is partly expressed by *quaeso*, *dic*, *opsecro* and similar words, making the question semi-indirect.

In general, therefore, there is in questions which have the verb at or near the end a correspondence between form and function; they are declarative sentences with exclamatory inflection, or with a questioning inflection too slight to bring about a departure from the declarative order.

V.—QUESTIONS WITH *ut* AND WITH THE INFINITIVE.

Questions with *ut* interrogative and the indic. are merely a variety of the *quis*-question, and of these I have made no lists. Apparently, in passing over these, I have omitted also cases of *ut* with the subjunct., which should have been noted for the sake

of comparison with *egon ut* sentences, and I fear that the following list is imperfect. Amph. 694, *quid enim censes? te ut deludam contra, . . . ?* Trin. 750, *ut ego nunc adulescenti thesaurum indicem . . . ?* Cist. IV 1, 10, And. 618, *oh, tibi ego ut credam, furcifer?* Heaut. 1050, *mea bona ut dem Bacchidi dono sciens?* In 2d pers. pres., Poen. 316, perf. Men. 683, 3d pers. pres. Ad. 238, Ph. 669, perf. Most. 14 (L²), 1017, Ad. 530, Heaut. 954, Hec. 138 f. Most. 1172 is purely conjectural. Ad. 655 repeats 654.

Questions or exclamations with the infin. have been partly given under *hicine, itane* and other words, but are repeated here in order to bring all infin. questions together.

With *adeon* followed by an *ut*-clause, Bacch. 283, *adeon me fuisse fungum ut qui illi crederem . . . ?* And. 245, Eun. 225, Heaut. 980, Hec. 532, Ph. 153, 497, 499. In And. 879 all MSS have *adeon* against the metre, generally corrected to *adeo*; it will be seen from cases below that there is nothing remarkable in the omission of *ne*.

With *itane*, Ph. 810, *itan parvam mihi fidem esse apud te?* Ph. 466. With *ita*, Heaut. 503.

With *sicine*, Curc. 589, Pers. 42, And. 689; with *sic*, Ph. 528 U.

With some form of *hicine*, Asin. 226, *haecine te esse oblitum . . . ?* Curc. 694 (for Curc. 200 see I. H. e), Mil. 626, Ps. 202, Truc. 537, 933, Ad. 237, 390, 408, 611, Eun. 644, Heaut. 401. The only cases without *ne* which at all correspond to these are Ph. 503, . . . *tum hoc esse mihi obiectum malum?* and Hec. 613, *hinc abire matrem? minime.* (There is no case of *hincine*.)

Other pronominal forms are *istacine* Aul. 746, *illan* (abl.) Ad. 448, *quemquamne* Ad. 38, Heaut. 912, *neminemne* Eun. 553, *nosne* Hec. 645, *ten* Ph. 339 (cf. Ps. 371), *meamne* Mil. 488, *nullane* And. 425, *tantamne* And. 253, *tantane* Ph. 977. Also *numquamne* (adv.) Eun. 360. Without *ne*, Capt. 783, *ad illum modum sublitum os esse mi hodie?* Also with *tantum*, *tantam*, And. 870, Heaut. 630, Ph. 884; in Heaut. 92, *hui, tam gravis hos, quaeso?* the infin. is to be supplied.

With *nilne*, And. 716; with *nil*, Ph. 1042.

With *non* (*nonne* does not occur with the infin.), Trin. 1046, *non hoc publice animadvorti?* Cas. I 1, 1, Hec. 227, Ph. 231, 232, 978, Ad. 562, 629, Dz.

With *magistron* Bacch. 151, *servon* And. 609.

The other cases without *ne* are Asin. 127, which may be a

continuation of the preceding question, Aul. 338, *tibi recte facere?* Curc. 623, *servom antestari?* Eun. 391, *magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?* This appears to be a repetition of a preceding infin. which Gnatho had used just before the speakers came upon the stage. Heaut. 94 is a repetition in infin.

With *ne*, Pl. 12, Ter. 28.

Without *ne*, Pl. 6, Ter. 18.

The use of the infin. in exclamations calls for no comment, but it may be noted that the greater number of these exclamations are associated with special words, *adeo, ita, sic, hic* and other demonstratives and the negative. This points to a close relationship to the forms given under I. B. Also, while *ne* is more often used than omitted, there is no form of question, except that with *non*, which has not a moderately close parallel without *ne*.

VI.—*An* AND DISJUNCTIVE QUESTIONS.¹

The received doctrine concerning *an* is thus summarized by Schmalz, Syntax, p. 299: "Unstreitig die wichtigste Fragepartikel ist *an*; im vollständig ausgesprochenen disjunktiven Frage-satze leitet es, wie wir gesehen, den zweiten Teil der Frage ein. Aber wie wir nicht in vollständigen Syllogismen sprechen, sondern eine oder die andere Prämisse unterdrücken, so genügt oft auch—wie oben bei *utrum* bemerkt—ein Teil der disjunktiven Frage, in der Regel der zweite. Und so steht *an* scheinbar in einer einfachen Frage. Dieser Gebrauch findet sich schon bei den Komikern, hat aber seine höchste Ausbildung in der Sprache Ciceros erreicht."

For reasons which will be given later, and especially because a prejudgment of the case may be thus avoided, I shall give first the simple questions with *an*, those which are commonly regarded as the second part of an incomplete disjunctive question, and afterward the complete questions with *utrum—an*. The connection between *an* and *av*, and the derivation of both from a pronomi-

¹ It was not until after the following pages were in the hands of the Editor of this Journal that I obtained the dissertation of P. Hinze, de *an* partic. ap. prisc. script. Lat. vi et usu, Halle, 1887, also as program, Brandenburg, 1887. Hinze classifies the examples according to the presence or absence of *eho, autem*, etc., and includes the indirect questions, thereby adding considerably to the weight of the argument. But in the main his classification and results anticipate what is given here. I have left my own work as it was written, with the addition of a note or two, partly for the sake of completeness, partly in the hope of reaching a different circle of readers.

nal stem *an*, "that" or "the other, the second," seems to be generally accepted, and, in accordance with this etymology and with the actual usage in Latin, the relation between the *an*-question and the preceding sentence is made the basis of the classification.

(a). The question with *an* is at the beginning of a speech and refers back to what has been said by the previous speaker.

In these cases the leading verb of the preceding sentence is never repeated without change in the *an*-question. (For Bacch. 1162 see below.) If the idea of the leading verb is repeated, it is always with some change of phrase, and this change seems to be intentional and to be essential in a question with *an*. Generally, however, the idea which is taken up and questioned is a subordinate one in the preceding sentence.

The idea of the main verb is repeated with change of phrase in Mil. 822, *sorbet dormiens* . . . || *quid 'sorbet' ?* || *illud stertit volui dicere* . . . || *eho, an dormit Sceledrus intus ?* Most. 454, *paene confregi* . . . *foris*. || *eho, an tu tetigisti has aedis ?*

In most cases some secondary idea is questioned. Asin. 837, *credam* . . ., *si te hilarum videro*. || *an tu me tristem putas ?* Mil. 419, . . . *si quidem east*. || *an dubium id tibist eam esse hanc ?* Ps. 309, *te vivom vellem*. || *eho, an iam mortuost ?*

The other cases, differing in no essential particular from these, are Amph. 745, 773, 964, Bacch. 120, 143, 200, Epid. 506, Merc. 393, Mil. 840, Most. 1083, Pers. 855, Poen. 334, 991, 1067, 1136, 1227, Ps. 314, 851, 853, 872, 1161, 1172, Rud. 578 (1274 given below), St. 34, 246, Trin. 371, 637, 934, 942, 943, Truc. 141, 165, Ad. 128, 389, 672, And. 500, 784 [possibly *ain tu haec omnia ?*], Eun. 382, 604, 679, 733, Heaut. 81, 911, 990, 1057, Ph. 235, 259, 626, 902, 1009.

Also *an quid*, Asin. 717, Merc. 145, Ps. 29, Ad. 468, *an quippiam*, Cas. III 5, 38. In Trin. 1018 ff., because of the long intervening clauses, a question beginning with *an* is renewed with *eosne*.

The following are semi-indirect, i. e. they depend upon or contain *dic*, *opsecro*, *quaeso*: Asin. 894, Cist. I 1, 70, II 3, 22, Merc. 145, 538, Most. 519, Poen. 475, Ps. 29, Rud. 351, Trin. 986, Eun. 963.

With *non*, Bacch. 121, *an deus est ullus Suavisaviatio ?* || *an non putasti esse umquam ?* Mil. 301, Poen. 490, Ps. 969, Ad. 136, And. 766, 781, 807, Eun. 959, Hec. 100. In Poen. 490 *non* is separated from *an*, and there is no resemblance in any of the

passages from Pl. to *an non* in the second half of a disjunctive question; in the more numerous Ter. passages the verb is sometimes repeated and the questions are like the common *an non* use.

All the conditions of the use of *an* are satisfied in Most. 178 (MSS omit), Poen. 533 (MSS *at, ad*); in Mil. 217 the text is confused and *an* is unlikely; in Trin. 922 Spengel's emendation (v. Bx.³) is at least as good as anything. In Ps. 472 I should retain *iam* of the MSS, but *an* (Lor.) would give an excellent sense. *An* is especially liable to confusion with *ain*? both in form and in use. The distinction is this, that *ain*? introduces a repetition, generally an exact repetition, while *an* introduces an interpretation with changed phraseology. The two cases in which the reading of the MSS is opposed to this rule are Bacch. 1162, *quid multa? ego amo.* || *an amas?* where I should read *ain? amas?* and Asin. 812, *ain tu?* which Uss., Langen, Beitr. 199, change to *an*. In Aul. 538, *edi sermonem tuum.* || *an audivisti?* Goetz follows Gruter and Bentley in changing to *ain? audivisti?* I should follow the MSS, with hiatus in the change of speakers, because of the change from a more involved to a plainer phrase; cf. esp. Mil. 822 and St. 246, *eho, an audivisti?*

At the beginning of a speech, Pl. 58 [61], Ter. 25.

Looking at these questions by themselves, without reference to the complete disjunctive sentence, the sequence of thought is this: one speaker implies, in the course of what he says, an opinion which excites the surprise or incredulity of the other, who in the *an* sentence questions the correctness of the suggested opinion. This he may do in such a way as to imply that he himself was mistaken, or that the other speaker was mistaken, or he may leave the matter entirely in doubt. In Most. 519, *an quaeso tu appellaveras? ita me di amabunt, mortuom illum credidi expostulare*, Tranio at first pretends to believe that the ghost had called him (*heus, Tranio*, 515), but when Theopropides says *quicum istaec loquere?* he is convinced of his error. So Amph. 964, *me . . . dixisse per iocum.* || *an id ioco dixisti? equidem hercle serio ac vero ratus.* In Poen. 334, . . . *ut Venerem propitiem.* || *eho, an iratast? propitia herclest*, in Trin. 371, 637, and elsewhere, the speaker implies that the idea taken up in the *an*-question was mistaken. But in the great majority of the cases the question with *an* expresses no opinion, but only asks for confirmation and direct assertion of that which has been indirectly implied.

If now we hold to the common doctrine that *an* by its nature always expresses an alternative, it must be acknowledged that in many of these cases it is not difficult to supply a first member like "have I understood you rightly?" "is that the case or . . .?" Perhaps there is no case in which some form of first member could not be thought out which would at once suit the context and be an antithesis to the *an*-question. But, on the other hand, there is hardly a single one of these questions which naturally and easily suggests a complete disjunctive question; there is in most cases something forced and artificial in the ellipsis, and in some cases, e. g. Ps. 1161, 1172, Mil. 822, 840, Trin. 934, 942, 943, Eun. 733, the awkwardness and artificiality are very clear. The full force of this can be felt only by making an examination of all the cases in the foregoing list. From such an examination, which I have no space to give here in detail, it is clear to me, in the first place, that it would be equally easy to supply a first member for all the questions having *ne* appended to the verb, and, in the second place, that it would be easier to supply a second member to the *an*-questions than to supply a first member, if it were not for the feeling, which comes from the classical Latin, that *an* must necessarily mean "or." In other words, it is logic, not language, which requires the completion of every *an*-question, and the disjunctive question thus formed is simply the logically complete question into which any kind of sentence question may be expanded.

(b). The question with *an*, though not at the beginning of the speech, refers back to the words of the other speaker and the intervening sentence is parenthetic.

The interposed sentence may be a mere remark. Poen. 1194, *sicut nos . . . praestitimus pulcritudine. || stulta . . . es. an tu eo pulcra videre, opsecro, si . . . ?* So Capt. 680, Hec. 878, Trin. 954. Or a question may come between. Hec. 671, . . . *ego alam ? || quid dixti ?* *eho, an non alemus, Parmeno ?* So with *quid ais ?* Hec. 346, with some form of repetition Aul. 82, Ad. 661, Eun. 857, Hec. 209. Ps. 305 belongs in this general class, whether we read *credere autem ?* or with Bugge, Langen, p. 315, *aude*. In Trin. 954 ff. the question with *an* refers either to the preceding speech or to the interposed words, and, in general, the clause is not wholly parenthetic, but is rather a preparation for the *an*-question. This usage therefore forms a kind of connecting link between the preceding class (a) and those which follow.

Pl. 5, Ter. 6.

(c). The question with *an* refers to something which the speaker has himself said. Under this head fall all the remaining questions with *an*, both complete and incomplete, and in order to trace their connection with each other I have subdivided them according to the form of the preceding sentence.

(1). The preceding sentence is declarative. Amph. 1027, *paene ecfregisti . . . cardines. an foris censebas nobis publicitus praeberier ?* Amph. 688, Asin. 528, Capt. 257, Men. 962, Most. 334 (the arrangement of speakers is not certain), 596, Poen. 265, St. 294, Truc. 88, And. 621, Hec. 215, Ph. 279 (the intervening speech is an aside), 1024. Pl. 10, Ter. 4.

These occur mostly in the midst of a long speech. They do not express an antithesis or an alternative to what precedes, but rather a possible interpretation of it which suddenly arises in the mind of the speaker and causes him to change his previous opinion, to look upon the matter from a new point of view. So in Men. 962, Menaechmus hardly knows whether he is in his senses or not, and is thinking over the reasons for hoping that he is sane, when suddenly a new explanation of the strange events occurs to him: *an illi, perperam insanire qui aiunt me, ipsi insaniunt ?* The awkwardness of supplying a clause with *utrum* is even greater here than in the cases given above, though it is perhaps not possible to exclude the hypothesis of an ellipsis altogether.

(2). A *quis*-question precedes the sentence with *an*. Amph. 661, *quid ille revortitur . . . ? an ille me temptat sciens, . . . ?* Most. 7, *quid tibi . . . clamitatio est ? an ruri censes te esse ?* Eun. 907, *quamobrem ? an quia pudet ?* Amph. 457, Asin. 524, Bacch. 676, Capt. 629, Cist. IV 1, 17, Men. 231, 496, 722, Most. 35, Ps. 92, Rud. 111, And. 888, Eun. 1017, Heaut. 334, 543, Hec. 293, 356, 436, 784, Ph. 602. Without verb, Most. 489, St. 549, 552. In Rud. 1274 the speaker pays no attention to the meaningless answer *censeo*. Pl. 17, Ter. 10.

In all these cases the sequence of thought is the same. In the *quis*-question the speaker asks in the most general way about some preceding act; then his mind, reviewing all possible answers, suddenly settles upon one as most probable or most interesting, and he inquires about it in the *an*-sentence. So in Amph. 661 the ideas come up in this way: "He has returned. Why? Which of all possible reasons has caused his return? To try me! Is that it? Is he trying to find out how I bear his absence?" These questions therefore resemble those already given in expressing

the sudden turning of the mind to some new thought. It is possible to supply a first clause, but the sequence of thought indicated above, one of every-day occurrence, is complete enough in itself.

(3). A question with *num* precedes. The only cases are Poen. 1315, Ph. 412, and by conjecture Merc. 981; cf. Madvig, Opusc. Acad. II, p. 230 ff., Kühner, II, p. 1017. As Kühner holds that *num* always expects a negative answer, his remarks do not apply to Poen. 1315. The small number of cases is due to the fact that *num* frequently calls attention to an evident fact about which there could be no further question. Pl. 1 [2], Ter. 1.

(4). A question with *ne* or without a particle precedes the *an*-question. (The illustrations given here will be included in the full list at the end of this division.)

(i). In some cases the preceding question is subordinate and *an* refers back over it, as in the cases under *b*. Ad. 337, . . . *narremus quopiam?* || *au, au, mi homo, sanum es? an hoc proferendum tibi videtur usquam?* So Aul. 424, Mil. 499.

(ii). In certain passages the question with *an* is, if reduced to its essential idea, nothing more than a repetition in different form of the preceding question. Asin. 504, *nequeon ego ted interdictis facere mansuetem meis?* *an ita tu's animala ut qui expers matris imperio sies?* These two questions amount to the same thing in the end, but the variation of phrase, the emphasis laid in the one case upon the mother's power, in the other upon the daughter's disposition, introduce a kind of adversative or disjunctive idea; cf. also Poen. 1315, Asin. 509, Eun. 47, 1013, Heaut. 505, Hec. 663, Ad. 782, Ph. 415, the last coming nearest to a complete disjunctive question.

COMPLETE DISJUNCTIVE QUESTIONS.

Although we pass at this point across the line which is commonly held to separate the complete disjunctive question from the so-called incomplete form with *an*, the distinction is so slight that the preceding classification is continued.

(iii). The question with *an* is almost a perfect antithesis to the previous question, but has a different verb.

Mil. 1424, *verberone etiam an iam mittis?* The perfect disjunctive would be *an non verbero?* and the question *an iam mittis?* is not the alternative, but the suggestion of a new third possibility which occurs to the slave as he speaks. As in Most,

7, *quid tibi . . . clamatist?* *an ruri censes te esse?* the question with *an* selects one of the possibilities of the *quid*-question, so here *an* selects for expression, not the perfect alternative, but merely a kind of second thought. So Ad. 336, Men. 319, Bacch. 1168, Curc. 589, Merc. 902. In Trin. 468 ff. the antithesis is almost perfect.

(iv). Even where the verb is the same for both clauses the disjunctive idea is sometimes only partially complete. Mil. 783, *ingenuamne an libertinam?* does not include the possibility of a slave; cf. Mil. 965 and 966.

(v). The use of *an*—*an* must also be regarded as a survival of the independent *an*-question; cf. Draeg. I 347. Ps. 1247, *pedes, statim an non?* *an id voltis, ut me hinc iacentem aliquis tollat?* shows clearly how, after the complete alternative of the first sentence, a third possibility, explanatory of the *an non*, occurs to the speaker. Other cases are Amph. 690, Epid. 223, Eun. 386, 986, 1044 (*ne—an—an—an*). Cf. Aul. 730.

The illustrations thus far given show how indistinct is the line which separates the independent *an*-question, following another question, from what would properly be punctuated as a single disjunctive question. The next step is the perfect disjunctive with *an non*.

The passages in which *an* follows a question with *ne*, with *an*, or without a particle, whether punctuated as one sentence or as two, are as follows:

ne—an, Amph. 343, Asin. 504, 509, 687, Bacch. 31 (*anne*), Capt. 270, Cas. II 6, 53, Epid. 634, Men. 198, 319, Merc. 130, 150, 602, Mil. 499, 783, 961, 965, 1020, 1424, Ps. 610, Trin. 331, 332, 468 ff., Ad. 185, 336, 337, Eun. 1013, Heaut. 203, Hec. 663, Ph. 275, 415.

Pl. 23, Ter. 8.

(—) — *an*, Aul. 424, Bacch. 162, 1168, Capt. 334, Curc. 589, Merc. 902, Men. 915, Rud. 853, Trin. 349, Ad. 782, Eun. 47, Heaut. 505.

Pl. 9, Ter. 3.

ne—an non, Aul. 643, 660, Capt. 74, 846, Curc. 566, Epid. 538, Mil. 416, 449, Pers. 533, Ps. 254, 616, 1246, Rud. 1399, Trin. 1071, Truc. 4, 755, 825, And. 186, 201, Heaut. 405, Ph. 852.

Pl. 16, Ter. 4.

These have impv. force in 2d sing. pres. except Aul. 643 and Ps. 616. The rest are mostly *estne*.

(—) — *an non*, Mil. 787, Pers. 378, St. 264, Trin. 983, And. 762, Eun. 546, 968, Heaut. 595, Ph. 147.

Pl. 4, Ter. 5.

an — *an*, Amph. 690, Epid. 223, Ps. 1247, Eun. 386, 986, 1044 ff.
Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

The other forms of the complete disjunctive occur as follows:

ne — *necne*, Capt. 713.

utrum — *ne* — *an*, Bacch. 75, Men. 1119, Ps. 709, Rud. 104, St. 118, 703, Ad. 382, Eun. 721. Pl. 5, Ter. 2.

utrum — *an*, Amph. prol. 56 (cf. Mil. 787), Cas. II 4, 10, Cist. 247 Uss. (Frag. 23, Ben.) III 10, Pers. 341, Ps. 878, Rud. 780, Trin. 175. Pl. 8.

On *anne* see Draeg. I 351, Kühn. II 1016.¹ It is found Bacch. 31, Cist. II 1¹⁶, 42, Rud. 1140, 1275, Truc. 666, And. 851. Truc. 695 should be *iamne*. These are of course independent uses of *an*.

Pl. 3, Ter. 1.

In the following *an* has been added by conjecture: Cas. III 5, 53, Curc. 129, Poen. 1130, Rud. 233, St. 330, Truc. 135, 723. Found in the MSS, but omitted for metrical reasons, Pers. 483, Ph. 737. Truc. 272 is somewhat doubtful, but has *an* in an independent question. In Trin. 922 I have followed Speng. Bx. Ps. 124 is confused in the MSS, but *utrum oculum anne aurem?* (Bx. Lor.) is probably correct.

This classification of *an* and disjunctive questions is not given with the belief that it corresponds in detail to the order of development, but it is meant to illustrate in a general way the fact that the independent *an*-sentence preceded the complete disjunctive question.

1. In language simplicity comes before complexity. The proofs of this are multiplying in all fields of philology, and it is *a priori* extremely improbable that the disjunctive question arose at once in complete form. To reverse the order and derive the simple question from the compound is to confuse language with logic.

2. While in classical Latin the complete disjunctive question is more common (so, at least, Draeger appears to state) than *an* alone, especially in the forms with *utrum*, in Pl. and Ter. the proportion is reversed. In simple sentences *an* is used about 150 times, in compound sentences without *utrum* about 70 times, with *utrum* 15 or 16 times. This proportion is explicable only on the hypothesis that the *utrum* — *an* form was either a new type in

¹Hinze regards *anne* as the original form. The connection with *ān* and Gothic *an* is, I think, a fatal objection to this view. I take *an-ne* to be a further illustration of the extension of *ne* to sentences where it was not strictly necessary.

the time of Pl. and Ter. or was just dying out. Its later history contradicts the second alternative, since it can hardly be held that the dialogue nature of comedy, favorable as it is to ellipses, can account for a disproportion so great.

3. The difficulty of framing a first member to fill the supposed ellipsis has been already pointed out, and with any one who will make the actual test it will have great weight.

The history of the *an*-sentence I suppose to have been something like this: From its pronominal origin *an* must have derived a strong demonstrative force, whether it meant simply "that" or "the other, the second," and this demonstrative emphasis fitted it for use in questions which began with the sudden perception, either in the speaker's own mind or in the words of another, of some new and interesting suggestion. So *an* selects a single point in the stream of thought—"that! do you mean *that*?"—for emphatic comment or question. Therefore when *an* followed a *quis*-question it contrasted some single possibility with all the others, when it followed a question with *ne* it contrasted some second possibility with the first, and so passed from emphasis to antithesis and to alternation, and finally to the forms in which the verb would be the same in both members and to the perfect disjunctive with *an non*.

To the double question thus formed by mere juxtaposition, as the indirect question was formed out of the direct, and all hypotactic forms out of paratactic, *utrum* was prefixed as a clearer expression of the alternative; cf. the introductory *quid*? As Draeger remarks, I 346, *utrum* retains much of its original pronominal force, e. g. in Men. 1119, *uter eratis, tun an ille, maior?* Bacch. 75, *simulato me amare. || utrum ego istuc iocon adsimulem an serio?*

With the growth of logical habits of thought and expression the use of the complete disjunctive question became more general, and it is quite likely that the analogy of the independent *an*-sentence, which was never entirely suppressed, may have led to the use of *an*-questions, especially in rhetorical styles, e. g. in Cicero, with a partially felt ellipsis of a first member; cf. the statistics for Persius and Ovid given by Dr. Morris H. Morgan, *Class. Rev.*, Feb. 1889 (III 1), p. 10. Persius has 5 cases of complete disjunctive question, 2 in which the first member is "easily supplied" and 7 independent; Ovid has 35 complete, 24 with first member "omitted but easily supplied," 21 independent. Dr. Morgan has

kindly sent me the references for these, and the cases in which a first member is supplied from the context seem to me to be of a kind not found in Pl. and Ter. I should say the same of the rhetorical uses so fully studied in Seyffert's *Scholae Latinae*.

IMPERATIVE QUESTIONS.

Questions having something of the force of a command have been noted as they occurred in the foregoing lists. They are *abin*, *accipin*, *audin* when it refers to what is about to be said, *dan datin*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *in (isne)*, *iuben* with *infin*, *manen*, *praebe*, *properatin*, *recedin*, *reddin* (text not sure), *viden ut* (not distinct), *daturne* (text improbable), *ibin* (text?), *eximesne* (MSS *eximes*), fut. ptc. with *esse* except Eun. 462, *etiamne* (five cases), *potin ut* or *potin* with subjunct., *ecquid agis*, *audis*, etc., *ecquis currit*, *aperit*, etc., *non taces*, *abis*, *respondes*, etc. (27 cases), *etiam taces*, *respondetis*, etc. (19 cases), possibly a few times with *iam*. In sentences without a particle having the verb late there is no impv. force, and there are no clear cases with the verb early (IV G.) ; *an* does not give impv. effect in any case, but in complete disjunctive questions with *an non* some of these forms recur, e. g. *abin an non* ?

These fall into a few general classes, verbs with *ne*, *ecquis ecquid*, *non*, *potin ut*, *etiam(ne)*, and fut. ptcc., and it is at once apparent that these are so various as to exclude the hypothesis that the impv. effect is produced by any single word or single form of question. The only common element is the present tense (omitting the half dozen futures), and it seemed to me possible that the explanation might be found in a vaguely future use of the pres. ; cf. *quid ago* ? *eon* ? and the 2d pers. fut. for the impv. in assertions. But upon this hypothesis the future itself should be frequently used with impv. force (cf. *quid ago* ? with the much more frequent *quid agam* ?), whereas it occurs only six or eight times. Also the 2d pers. fut. has impv. force because its use expresses a confident expectation, and this would correspond to the use of the 1st pers. in questions ; cf. the uses of *iam*. It is easy to translate *abin* ? "will you get out?" but the Engl. *will* simply confuses the precise sense of the Latin. I conclude, therefore, that the impv. questions cannot belong to the class of idioms which preserve a meaning originally inherent in a word or phrase, but must be explained as later deviations from the original and proper meanings of questions. In other words, they may be strictly called "questions

used instead of commands," and it remains only to discover, if possible, the psychological motives which led to the use of the interrogative sentence in imperative functions.

In the majority of cases, especially with *ne*, the impv. use lies close to the *ne* = *nonne* usage, that is, it results from the employment of a formal question where only one answer is possible. Thus *abin*, addressed as it usually is by a superior to an inferior, is a hint so strong as to amount to a command; *accipin*, in immediate connection with *tene* and *accipe*, is like Engl. "Are you going to take this?" So the other verbs, *audin*, *dan*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *praeben* and the rest, all refer to some act which was plainly not being performed, and about which the speaker could not ask for information: "Are you running away? are you giving me water?" The circumstances supplied the answer, so that there could not be any real interrogation; only the urgency remained and gave a partial impv. effect.

In a few cases certainly, perhaps in most, there is also an ironical tone, produced or expressed by asking a very formal question where the answer is obvious. So with *potin ut*, which almost always has a verb of passivity depending upon it, *quiescas*, *molestus ne sis*, etc., like the Engl. "Will you be so kind as to attend to your own business?"

With *non taces?* *non abis?* *etiam tu taces?* about 50 cases in all, there is no formal questioning; the sentences are exclamatory, and the impv. effect, which is not very strong, is only a slight extension of the exclamation. *non taces?* means "You don't keep still! (I am surprised; I had supposed you would)." *etiam tu taces?* means "Quiet at last! (I expected you to keep still long ago)."

While these questions may properly be said to be used "instead of the impv." and may in some cases seem to be really equivalent to it, they nevertheless retain a close connection with their original use. Thus *abin an non?* || *abeo*; thus *dicisne* is answered once by *dicam*, once by *dico*, *fugin* by *ego vero ac lubens*, *viden* by *video*, *potin ut* by *potest*, *non taces* by *non taceo*. These show conclusively that a sense of the interrogation was still left, as indeed must have been the case as long as *audin*, *viden* and others could still be used in a pure interrogation. On *ecquis hic est?* and *ecquis aperit?* used side by side (an especially instructive case) see III, near the end. On the other hand, of the verbs given above with *ne* having impv. force, *abin*, *accipin*, *dan*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *in*,

manen, mittin, praebe, properatin, recedin, reddin are never used without impv. force, in a pure interrogation. This is doubtless due partly to the meaning of the verbs, but it seems to me to indicate that, as they took on the impv. function, they tended to lose the interrogative function and to become fixed in the impv. sense. This is most distinct in *abin*, which became formulaic in curses.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE.

The early history of the Latin interrogative sentence must of necessity rest largely upon inference, and the following sketch is not supposed to be a final statement, but is intended as a working hypothesis to be filled out at some future time.

It is a mistake to measure the interrogative sentence by the standard of the declarative. The earliest sentence was neither declarative, nor imperative, nor exclamatory, nor interrogative, but contained in itself the possibilities of all these, and could be all of them by turns. It had no normal order and no normal voice-inflection, but the earliest step toward differentiation must have been the association of certain successions of words and certain inflections with special meanings. So a sentence with the verb at the end and with unemotional inflection became associated with the simple declaration, and in the same way arose several forms of sentence varying in meaning from the exclamation to the comparatively unemotional question: *First*, a sentence like the declarative, but with emotional, perhaps rising, inflection, in which the voice expressed sufficiently the very slight interrogative-exclamatory character. *Second*, sentences in which some form of the pronoun stood first. These were considerably varied and included or were the source of many later forms of the interrogative sentence. Perhaps the most distinct were those in which the pronoun was the subject and had not begun to change at all into an adverb or particle. So *hic, ille, iste* and the personal pronouns *ego, tu*, which not only stood at the beginning, but by the very fact that they were expressed at all aided the exclamatory-interrogative character of the sentence. With these was used a sentence in which the indefinite (originally demonstrative) *quis* stood at the beginning.¹ Further, there were sentences in which words of pronominal stem

¹ It is of course possible to suppose that the interrogative function was developed in this word before the indefinite, but see Kvičala, *Unters. auf dem Gebiete der Pron.*, p. 6 ff.; Paul, *Princ.*² p. 109.

in the acc. or loc., perhaps already turned into adverbs, stood at the beginning. Among these (for some may have been lost) were *an*, a word of such strong demonstrative force that it had a contrasting effect, and *num* or *nunc*, of the same stem as *nam*. Third, the verb itself took the first place in the sentence under the influence of strongly marked interrogative inflection; this strong emphasis upon the most important word of the sentence doubtless marked the widest departure from the declarative and the nearest approach to the simple question.

Some of these forms, perhaps all, must have been very early. The last, with the verb at the beginning, appears in German, and, I am told, in Gothic also, but I have been unable to find out whether the Sanskrit has any such interrogative form, and must in any case leave to comparative philologists the question whether this was an original I. E. form of sentence. I should conjecture that it was.

At this stage there was no special form of question for the *nonne* sense, but as this sense is really very close to the neutral question it was expressed by the question with the verb early, e. g. *sum verus?* Cf. also the uses of *ecquid* above. Even for questions expecting a negative answer, though *num* was used early, the differentiation was so incomplete that this sense could be expressed by sentences which had the verb at the beginning (*credis*) or by *ecquid*.

From this second stage in the development of the interrogative sentence arose three particles, that is, of the words upon which the interrogative emphasis rested, three lost in large measure their proper meaning, and, by constant association with questions, seemed to be and therefore became mere signs of the interrogation, though retaining traces of their original use. Of these the most important was *an*, which, if not the earliest, was certainly very early, and was entirely independent in its development, that is, was not made interrogative by association with any other word, but by the fact of its having stood as a strong demonstrative at the head of the sentence. I cannot see that it makes any difference whether we say that the stem meant "that" or "the other, the second," since the latter meaning is nothing but a development of the strong contrasting demonstrative idea. The use of *an* in corrective and adversative questions and its later disjunctive force have already been discussed in detail.

The second particle which must be referred to this early stage

is *num.* While acknowledging freely the obscurity which surrounds the origin and proper meaning of this word, I consider the connection with *nunc* more probable than that with *ne*, and suppose that the challenging use (cf. St. 297, *nunc ultro id deportem?*) was the earlier, from which the neutral sense came by further loss of meaning. The later prevailing sense, expecting a negative answer, would then come from the challenging use, and the use in indirect questions would be descended from the neutral sense.

A third interrogative word, whose origin was apparently early, was *ec-* or *en*, associated always with the indefinites *quis* and *unquam*. Whatever may have been its original form, it was so largely used by Pl. that it can hardly have been a new word in his time, but it was a neutral word and came into competition with *ne*, so that even in Ter. its use had greatly decreased.

A third and very important step in the history of the interrogative sentence was the development of the particle *-nē*. From the locative *na-i* came three forms, *ne*, *nei*, *nī*, all containing already the negative idea, which came from the strong demonstrative idea ("that, not this"). For the negative see, among others, Ritschl, Opusc. II 622 ff., Ribbeck, Partik., 16 ff. While *nī* branched off with (negative) conditional sentences, *nē* became the earliest and most widely used negative, appearing in classical Latin in the conjunction, in *non*, etc. It did not originate a distinct form of question, but was introduced into a question already formed, the question in which the verb stood at the beginning. This was the most neutral kind of question, and every neutral question suggests a negation, is by its nature a wavering between affirmation and negation. Warren is wrong in the irony with which he says of Hand that he intrenches himself "behind the profound philosophical observation that every question implies doubt, and that all doubt borders upon negation, and that hence every question contains a negative element," p. 72; cf. Hand IV 71. No doubt Hand goes much too far in supposing that the negative was always felt in *-nē*, but the correctness of the general view that the interrogation and the negation are closely allied, psychologically, is placed beyond a doubt by Imme, II, p. 6 ff., and clearly recognized by Paul, p. 110. This negative element was more and more clearly felt, as the interrogative sentence swung away from the exclamation, until in the balanced, neutral question, with the verb at the beginning, it found expression in the negative word *ne*. Psychologically considered, such a question as *estne frater intus?* was almost the same thing as the later *est frater intus an non?*

Having thus found a place in the neutral question, *ne* lost by the law of association its proper negative force and became a neutral interrogative particle. It was thus fitted for a wider use as the sign of a question than *an* or *num*, and extended its sphere from the sentence which began with a verb to all forms of question which had not already some mark of interrogation, even to those in which the interrogative tone was very slight. In this way are to be explained the various kinds of exclamatory sentence with *ne*, *tun is eras?* *nuncin demum?* *egon ditam?* *itan contemnor?* *eine ego ut advorser?* and the exclamatory infinitives *haecine te esse oblitum?* *mene efferre?* etc. This is also the reason why no certain line can be drawn between, e. g. *audisti* and *audistin*, between *est* and *estne*, *etiam* and *etiamne*. All these forms of sentence continued to exist alongside of the more distinct interrogation, and it was optional with the speaker in the time of Pl. to use the older form or to heighten somewhat the questioning tone of an exclamatory sentence by the use of *ne*. Yet this encroachment of the interrogation upon the exclamation was not unchecked, since of the 900 questions without a particle about nine-tenths are exclamatory. Finally, after *ne* became thoroughly neutralized, there was a further development of idioms out of the pure question, such as some of the uses of *ain*, *audin*, *viden*, *vin*, and especially the imperative questions, *abin*, *fugin*, etc.

The process by which *ne* became an interrogative particle is therefore essentially different from that which produced *an* and *num*. These were independent pronominal words which the interrogative-exclamatory inflection held at the beginning of the sentence, and which became interrogative when the sentence did; *ne* was introduced into an interrogative sentence that was already fully developed, as a fuller and, one might almost say, deliberate expression of the interrogation.

I am acquainted with only two sketches of the early history of *ne*. The first is by Probst, *Beiträge zur Lateinischen Grammatik*, II, pp. 135-6, given as an illustration of his general view that conjunctions get their meaning by association. After speaking of the forms *ne*, *nei*, *ni*, he says, "Wir verfolgen hier nur die Form 'ne' weiter. Diesem 'ne' assoziierte sich der Gedankeninhalt der Fragen, in denen es vorzugsweise verwendet wurde, d. h. es hatte bald *positiven*, bald *negativen* Sinn (Kühner, II, p. 1002). Beide Bedeutungen kamen dann auch offenbar durch Vermittlung der rhetorischen Fragen (d. s. Aussagen) in der *Aussage* zur Geltung.

So ergaben sich von einem einheitlichen Stamme zwei der Bedeutung nach verschiedene 'ne,' die der Herkunft nach jedoch nicht von einander zu trennen sind (vgl. Deecke in Bursian's Jahresberichten XXVIII 226 [should be 216]). Das *positive* 'ne' (nae) tritt noch z. B. in Verbindung mit 'edepol' u. ähnl. auf; aber auch in dem Sinne von 'etiam, nempe, enim' (Priscian II 101) oder von 'ergo' (Serv. zur Aen.), vgl. Minton Warren in American Journal of Philology II 5, 32, s. 8, 1881 [II 5, pp. 50 ff.], findet es sich. Das *negative* 'ne' zeigt sich z. B. in 'neque, nec, non (ne-oenum), neve' u. s. f. als einfache Negation oder negative Konjunktion." Taken in connection with the whole drift of the argument I suppose this to mean that *ne, nei, ni* was originally neutral, that *ne* got both negative and affirmative meanings in and through its use in questions, that both meanings passed from questions into declarative uses, and that *nē* the negative and conjunction is thus descended from *nē* the interrogative particle. Not to dwell upon some obvious difficulties—e. g., it does not account for the negative sense of *ni*—the theory is sufficiently condemned by the fact that it leaves the Latin language without any negative at all until after the interrogative sentence was fully developed. The fact, of course, is that the negative sense of *nē* arose long before the time when language began to be written down.¹

The position taken by Professor Warren in the article referred to above is, on the other hand, perfectly clear, though it is merely suggested in the course of a paper devoted to other uses than the interrogative. He starts with the *egone si, hicine si* sentences, in which *ne* is apparently not interrogative. In this *ne* he sees the remnant of a supposed *nem*, an affirmative particle parallel to *nam* from the stem *na*, which passed over from declarative to interrogative sentences, especially exclamatory sentences like *egone ut, men* with the infin., etc. It did not come within the scope of Professor Warren's paper to fix precisely the limits of this use—"the interrogative use of the affirmative *nē*"—but the only form of question in which he clearly recognizes the negative *nē* is where *ne* seems to have the force of *nonne*. This theory has been accepted

¹ The third part of this essay (Leipzig, 1888) contains various remarks upon the interrogative sentence which I have not thought it worth while to refer to in detail. The history of *an*, pp. 238 ff., deserves mention for the confidence with which the author asserts that *an* was originally neutral in sense and was driven into a negative function (which it nowhere has) by the competition of *ne* and *nonne* (the latter of which did not come into existence till after the functions of *an* were fixed).

in whole by Dahl, VT, p. 299, and as to the non-interrogative sentences by Ribbeck on Mil. Glor. 309, Brix on the same (310) and doubtless by others.¹

I have tried to show above that the "*ne=nonne*" questions do not constitute a special class marked off by definite lines from other *ne*-questions; they indicate merely a use to which the neutral question was put, one of the idiomatic offshoots of the *ne*-question, like the impv. question. So *audin* "don't you hear?" *audin* "do you hear?" and *audin* "do you hear!" (impv.) are really one and the same phrase. If this is correct, then *nē* is no more negative in one *audin* than in the others; all contain the *ne* of negative origin, and the "*ne=nonne*" questions take their place with other idiomatic offshoots of the neutral question, from which they differ only by the fact that this sense is not strictly confined to *ne*-questions, and must therefore in part antedate the use of *ne*. My reasons for thinking that the *-nē* used in exclamations, *tun is eras? nuncin demum? men efferre...?* and the rest, is simply an extension of the interrogative use to partially interrogative sentences have been already given. In regard to all these forms of sentence Professor Warren seems to me to be following the scholiasts and grammarians too far. Their strength lies in statements of fact; in explanations they are weak. The statement of a grammarian that in a certain sentence he felt a shade of meaning which he expressed by *ergo* is to be received with respect; his explanation of this meaning as due to *ne* I look upon as a very natural error, especially if the same meaning appears in other sentences without *ne*. All the shades of meaning which Professor Warren illustrates by the *ne: ergo, ne: vero* glosses I should attribute to the order, the mood, the voice-inflection, more than to the single word *ne*; in short, this appears to me to be a case in which the sentence has influenced the meaning of the particle far more than the particle has influenced the sentence.

The question whether *ne* first entered the interrogative sentence through the "*ne=nonne*" question or through the neutral question

¹ Brix suggests another explanation, viz., that *-nē* in non-interrogative sentences may come from the affirmative *nē*, shortened and made enclitic. I venture to suggest a third hypothesis: as *nē* by association with neutral questions lost its negative force and became interrogative, so *-nē* by being used with an emphatic pronoun in exclamations was still further weakened into a particle of exclamatory emphasis, and could be used with *hicine, egone, tune* in sentences no longer interrogative. The word "affirmative" does not quite express the idea.

is less important, since it must in either case have been extended at once to all sentences with the verb at the beginning. But if it began in the neutral question, it is easy to see how it lost its negative force, while in a question with the effect of *nonne* it would tend strongly to retain a distinct negative force. Further, a true *nonne*-question is a negative sentence turned into a question; it has a corresponding negative declarative sentence, *non audio, non dixi*. But *dixin* is a question into which a negative has entered, and corresponds to *dixi*, not to *non dixi*. The position, also, of *ne* after the verb seems to distinguish these sentences from the earliest form of the negative question, in which *non* comes at the beginning and the verb at the end.

The fourth step in the history of questions resulted in several minor forms of sentence, and in one which afterward had wide use. This was the *non, nonne* question. It has already been shown that the distinction between the negative exclamation and the negative question corresponds to a difference in the position of *non*, and that the question has *non* at the beginning and the verb at the end. As *non* retained its independence and its negative meaning, *ne* could not be used with it until *ne* had itself lost its negative sense. For this reason, as well as because the *non*-question was itself of late origin, *nonne* was just beginning in the time of Pl. and is infrequent in Ter. Later, when the logical forms of the literary language crushed out the free natural growths, *nonne* played a great part in the interrogative sentence.

Imme points out (II, pp. 21, 26) the considerable influence which words of precision (Fragewörter der Bestimmtheit) have upon questions. German examples are *jetzt, immer, noch, je*; the most evident case in Latin is *num*, but to this class I should assign *etiam*, especially with imperative force, and the few cases of *iam* mentioned above. Like the German *wirklich*, English *really, actually*, are the cases of *itane* in which *ita* has lost its standard of comparison; *satin* is even clearer, and is an excellent illustration on a small scale of the making of an interrogative particle. Of course these are not like *an*, since the interrogative force lay from the beginning in *ne*, but the gradual change of meaning from "enough" to "really, actually" shows that in sentences like *satin abiit?* *satin* was no longer felt as a compound, but had become little more than a particle.

In all these cases the same linguistic impulse is still at work that produced *an* and *num*; but in the time of Pl. this impulse

spent its force, and from this time on no new particles were brought into use.

While the question had thus been developing various forms to express various shades of meaning, the exclamatory sentence had at no time ceased to be used, though it had, perhaps owing to its kinship with the declarative sentence, been less prolific in evolving special forms. We might perhaps regard some of the interjections as signs of the exclamation, and certainly *nempe*, *fortasse*, *videlicet*, *credo* performed at times the function of indicating a hesitating assertion. The sentence with *cesso* also maintained itself as an idiom without *ne*; possibly it is raised into unnatural prominence, as *videon* certainly is, by the recurrence of a particular dramatic situation. The examples of the exclamation will be found mostly under IV.

As the exclamation is akin to the repetition, it often suggests rejection or repudiation. In this way the pronominal questions under I. B, either with or without *ne*, retain much of the exclamatory force, because they take up for question some single idea already suggested. They pass over the main idea as correct, and settle down with all the force of contrast upon one thing, questioning that alone with a severity which suggests a doubt of its correctness.

All the forms of question thus far enumerated grew out of the exclamatory-declarative sentence; from the sentence of will there came a similar but much less extended development. The mark of this kind of sentence, so far as questions are concerned, is the subjunctive.

The deliberative question, addressed by the speaker to himself, corresponds to the indicative question with the verb at the beginning, and like that may have *ne*; it is a simple question in regard to the speaker's intention or ability, and the subjunctive retains so much of its future force as to be in single cases indistinguishable from a future.

A sentence which expresses a wish, an exhortation, a command, that is, the will of another person, is not in itself questioning, but exclamatory. I have already shown that the forms in the 1st pers., which are the only ones at all noteworthy, follow all but invariably an impv. or some other expression of willing, and are closely allied to repetitions. In fact *dic. || dicam?* is simply an exclamatory repetition with the necessary change of person, and, except for the mood, exactly like *dixisti. || dixi?* That is, the

repudiation is due to the exclamatory repetition; all that the mood does is to direct the repudiation upon the will. The simplest form, e. g., *abi*. || *abeam* ? is found, but this is more frequently, and with *ne* invariably, used for deliberative questions. In repudiation it is almost instinctive to add an interrogative or a pronoun or both, as in English, though it is possible to express this idea in a single word with peculiar circumflex accent ("speak! || spêak?"), it is more natural to add some further words. All the interrogatives may be used, as with the indic. Compare Aul. 652, *certe habes*. || *habeo ego* ? *quid habeo* ? with Bacch. 406, *sequere*. || *quo sequar* ? Bacch. 630, *habe bonum animum*. || *unde habeam* ? Eun. 610, *muta vestem*. || *ubi mutem* ? There is no real difference between *quo*, *ubi*, *unde* in these sentences, and *ut* in Amph. 694, *te ut deludam contra . . .* ? But the form with *ut* alone is not frequent; generally the pronoun is added to *dicam* or *ut dicam*, either alone or with *ne*. Cf. *egon* with the indic. And as in English these sentences are expressed by a circumflex accent upon both words, so in Latin the ordinary position of *egon* before *ut* shows that it was not fully incorporated into the sentence. When *ne* is used with these forms of exclamation, it expresses the nearest approach to a real question. For an unemotional questioning of the will of another person, a leading verb in the indic. must be introduced. So Aul. 634, *redde huc sis*. || *quid tibi vis reddam* ? Most. 578, *gere modum . . .* || *quid tibi ego vis geram* ? are to be regarded as extensions of *quid reddam*, *geram* ? in the direction of unemotional questioning.

What is remarkable, therefore, in these much discussed questions ("die unwilligen oder missbilligenden Fragen") is the convergence upon them of two lines of influence, the mood, by which they express will, and the exclamatory repetition, which makes them repudiating.¹

While it is plain that *ut* is interrogative in these questions and similar to *quid*, *unde*, *ubi*, there is in questions with *utine* the difficulty that this involves the use of *-ne* with an interrogative. This anomaly is rare and late, occurring only once (Trin. 1095) in Pl., and not at all in Ter. If the *utine* questions are put by the side

¹Kraz, die sog. unwillige oder misbilligende Frage, Stuttgart, 1862; Müller, same title, Görlitz, 1875; cf. Schnoor, zum Gebrauch von *ut* bei Pl., Neumünster, 1885, p. 3. A discussion of the mood in these questions would be profitless until the subjunctive in declarative sentences in Pl. and Ter. has been more thoroughly studied.

of *quaene*, *quodne*, *quiane* and other relatives, it will be seen that the kinship is hardly less close than that with *ut*, both in form (except for the mood) and in repudiating effect. The explanation I take to be this: The change from parataxis to hypotaxis is the result, not so much of the putting together of two complete sentences, as of the prefixing of an introductory verb to the clause which thus became subordinate. Thus *ne id accadat* was the original portion, and *timeo* was a prefixed introduction, an expression of the total intention of the clause; so *quid negoti est (sit)?* was an exclamatory repetition to which *rogas* was prefixed. This leading verb, the expression of a greater precision, struggled slowly up from unconsciousness to consciousness and expression, and there must have been a time with every construction which passed from parataxis to hypotaxis, when the idea of the leading verb was partially felt and could be expressed or omitted. Many illustrations of this may be found in Pl. and Ter., e. g., with *ain*, *audin*, *rogas*, and cf. *vis reddam*, above. At this point stood the *ut* questions, descended evidently and immediately from *ut* interrogative, but with a faint consciousness that greater precision required an introductory verb, and therefore just on the point of changing from *ut* interrogative to *ut* relative. This is the reason why these clauses with *utine* so closely resemble *quodne*, *quiane*, *quamne*, and also the reason why Pl., to whom *ne* after an interrogative was strange, could use *ne* with *ut*. Only half the truth is expressed by classing *utine* questions with relatives, as I have done, or by calling *ut* the Interrogativum-rhetoricum (Probst, p. 150); it partakes of the nature of both.

The differences between Pl. and Ter. are not as great as might be expected. The slighter differences, such as may often be found between two authors of the same period, have been noted as they came up, e. g., the greater frequency in Ter. of the 1st pers. pres. except *sum*, of *ain? pergin, itane*, etc. Two points only deserve special mention. In the first place, Ter. uses the exclamatory forms more frequently than Pl. So of repetitions of all kinds, including *rogas, rogitas*, he has almost as many cases in six plays as Pl. has in twenty, showing especial fondness for single verbs like *tenes? nostin?* etc., as well as for the infin. In the second place, Ter. employs with *ne* a much greater variety of questions than Pl., e. g., a greater number of verbs in the 1st pers. pres., more verbs in unusual tenses, a much greater variety of adjectives and nouns, more pronouns in other cases than the nominative.

These two tendencies indicate a widening distance between the exclamation and the question, which had been originally one. The exclamatory effect was going out of the question, and therefore Ter. used distinctively exclamatory forms where Pl. would have felt a sufficient exclamatory force in the question. And, on the other hand, the question was becoming stereotyped, and the questioning force seemed more and more to reside in the particles, especially in *ne*, so that the particle could carry interrogative effect into any form of sentence. The reign of the particle was beginning. This I suppose to be the ordinary course of evolution; the tendencies to variation become fixed in species, and the intermediate forms, the connecting links, drop out of existence.

QUESTIONS CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO THEIR FUNCTIONS.

The principle seems to be generally adopted in our manuals of Latin grammar that language is best presented to the student from the psychological side. Therefore we have conditional clauses, final clauses, even concessive clauses, rather than *si* clauses, *ut* clauses, *qui* clauses. Carrying this idea over into interrogative sentences, it has been the custom to divide them into questions for information, questions expecting a negative answer, and questions expecting an affirmative answer. This three-fold division has doubtless had some support from its general coincidence with the particles *ne*, *num*, and *nonne*, and it has also, unfortunately, reacted upon our conception of the meaning and uses of these particles, narrowing them too strictly within logical limits.

As a partial corrective of this too mechanical classification I have thought it worth while to call attention to the two excellent programs by Th. Imme, *Die Fragesätze nach psychologischen Gesichtspunkten eingeteilt und erläutert*, Cap. I-III, Cleve, 1879, Cap. IV-VI, 1881. In the first is given a general study of the interrogation with a discussion of the pronominal questions (*Bestimmungsfragen*). In the second the author classifies the varieties of sentence-question (*Bestätigungsfragen*), using for illustration mainly German, Greek and English examples. I give here a brief outline of the second program with illustrations from Pl. and Ter.¹

¹ Aside from their special object these programs are worth reading as illustrating the definite and valuable results which may be obtained from the combination of psychology and philology.

Questions differ according to the proportions in which they contain two distinct lines of thought. In the first place, when the mind conceives an idea imperfectly or dimly, or when an idea once clearly grasped is rendered uncertain by the presentation to the mind of a new idea inconsistent with the first, then the effort to attain to clearness and certainty takes the form of a question, especially if there be another person present. In the second place, there may co-exist in the mind at the same time with the uncertainty a somewhat distinct opinion in regard to the matter which is the subject of the question. According to the proportions in which these two elements are present Imme makes five grades of sentence-question.

1. Questions of awakened interest (or *der aufstrebenden Erkenntniss*), in which only the first element is present. These are the pure questions, questions for information, in regard to matters about which the speaker could not have any opinion. They are very rare in 1st pers., and not frequent in 2d pers. All forms of *stipulatio*, *habeon rem pactam* ? *sponden, dabin*, come in this class, and such forms as *ain, audin, viden, scin, vin*, with direct object; also *cognoscin, esne, haben, ludin, valen*. Almost all 3d persons are of this kind, *est(ne) frater domi* ? either with or without *ne*, and most cases of nouns, adjectives and adverbs with *ne*. So also many cases of *num, numquis adest* ? *numquid de Dacis audisti* ? (Hor.) and some few cases of *an* approach this sense.

2. Questions of doubt (*Zweifelfragen*) are not the dubitative or deliberative questions with the subjunctive, but questions where the speaker's previous opinion has been shaken by some sudden thought, so that he is thrown from certainty into doubt. Cases in which no trace of the previous opinion appears are infrequent; generally it shows itself in a leaning in one direction or the other, and according as the previous opinion was negative or affirmative, the question will lean toward the affirmative or the negative. From this result the two kinds of doubt-questions, those which expect an affirmative and those which expect a negative answer, or, as Imme calls them, yes-questions and no-questions. Examples of yes-questions, which should regularly contain a negative word, are cases of *non* at the beginning of the sentence with the verb at the end, *nonne, ne* with the effect of *nonne*, and the few cases without a particle which have *nonne* force. Imme's distinction between *non* and *nonne* is incorrect for Pl. and Ter. These are

all rather clearly marked, because the previous opinion, being negative, was distinguished by some clearly negative word. But there is no single word to express affirmation, and no-questions are therefore expressed in a great variety of ways. Words which express actuality or existence may mark a strong affirmation, and therefore in a question may indicate a leaning toward negation. Such are *itane vero*, *satin* in some meanings, verbs of thinking and believing like *credin*, *censen*, words expressing a moral or aesthetic standard like *sanun*, *duasne uxores habet*, *rufamme illam virginem* (Heaut. 1061), etc. Words of restriction or definition are still more frequent; *num*, *iam* and *etiam* in some cases, perhaps *adeon* and other demonstrative words, though these pass over into more distinct rejection. Even the circumstances, without the help of any one word, may so restrict the possible answers as to leave only a negative answer open, e. g. *repeton quem dedi?* Out of all these ways of expressing doubt of an affirmative opinion only *num* clearly assumed the function of an interrogative particle, though *etiam* came very near doing so.

3. Questions of certainty. In these the second element, the opinion previously held, becomes still more prominent, and only so much of the question is left as expresses a wish for assent from the person addressed. Special forms of this are questions with *nempe*, *videlicet*, *fortasse*, *credo*, and other illustrations may be found among questions without a particle having the verb at the end (IV. H.) Imme compares οἰκοῦν. When the assent is doubtful, this kind of question may be highly emotional, and many kinds of exclamation and repetition lie in the borderland between this class and the next, and may be used in either way.

4. Questions of repudiation or rejection, in which the previous opinion is so strong that the question is asked only to be at once repudiated or rejected. Here belong most forms of question with demonstrative or personal pronouns, many cases with *an*, and many repetitions, exclamations and supplementary questions. For the most part the questioning effect is so slightly felt that *ne* is not used with them.

Imme makes also a separate division for pedagogic questions, but with these Plautus was happily unacquainted.

5. Rhetorical questions. In these the question has sunk away to a mere form; in the mind of the speaker there is no question, nor does he suppose that there will be any question in the mind of the hearer, but he uses the question form only to express with

greater vividness the thought which instantly rises, as an answer, in the mind of the hearer. The only rhetorical questions at all frequent in the comedy are the imperative questions and the closely allied uses of *scin*, *viden*, *vin* as introductions to the main thought. Imme seems to me to go much too far in attempting to draw sharp distinctions between rhetorical questions and questions used rhetorically.

The rhetorical question should be distinguished as to origin from the emotional or exclamatory question; the exclamation is one of the oldest varieties of question, in a sense the source of all other forms, while the rhetorical question is a late offshoot from the fully developed question through degeneration and loss of meaning.

This outline of Imme's program may serve to illustrate the difficulties of a classification of questions according to function. All such classification introduces the delicate problem of determining just how much of its original sense may be still felt in a phrase which has been long in use. At the same time it shows the great variety of uses to which a single form of question may be put, and the large extension of usage which has taken place in regard to some kinds of interrogative sentence. The question having the verb with *ne*, for example, is found in all five classes, and even in both subdivisions of doubt-questions, and of the forms in general use in the time of Plautus hardly one is confined to a single function. Especially in no-questions the great variety of shadings in interrogative sentences is well illustrated (Imme treats this at great length), and the extreme difficulty of fixing the meaning of the sentence upon a single word is very apparent.

